

NEW LIGHT ON DRAKE

A COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS RELATING TO
HIS VOYAGE OF CIRCUMNAVIGATION

1577—1580

TRANSLATED AND EDITED

BY

ZELIA NUTTALL

ILLUSTRATED BY A MAP AND PLATES

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

MDCCCXIV

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Le vray portraict du Cappitaine Draeck lequel a circuit toute la terre en trois annees moins deux mois et 17 iours il partit du Royaulme D'Angleterre le 13. de Decembre 1577 et fist son retour audict Royaulme le 26. iour de Sept: 1580.

*Ad Amplissimum et Illust: virum D. D. Edoardum Staffart apud Henricum 3. Christ: Franc: Regem legatum D. S. Observantijs.
Jo. Rabel Pinxit. Thomas de leu sculpsit et excudit.
A Paris.*

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

Reproduction of an engraving, by Thomas de Leu, of a portrait, painted from life, by Joseph Rabel.

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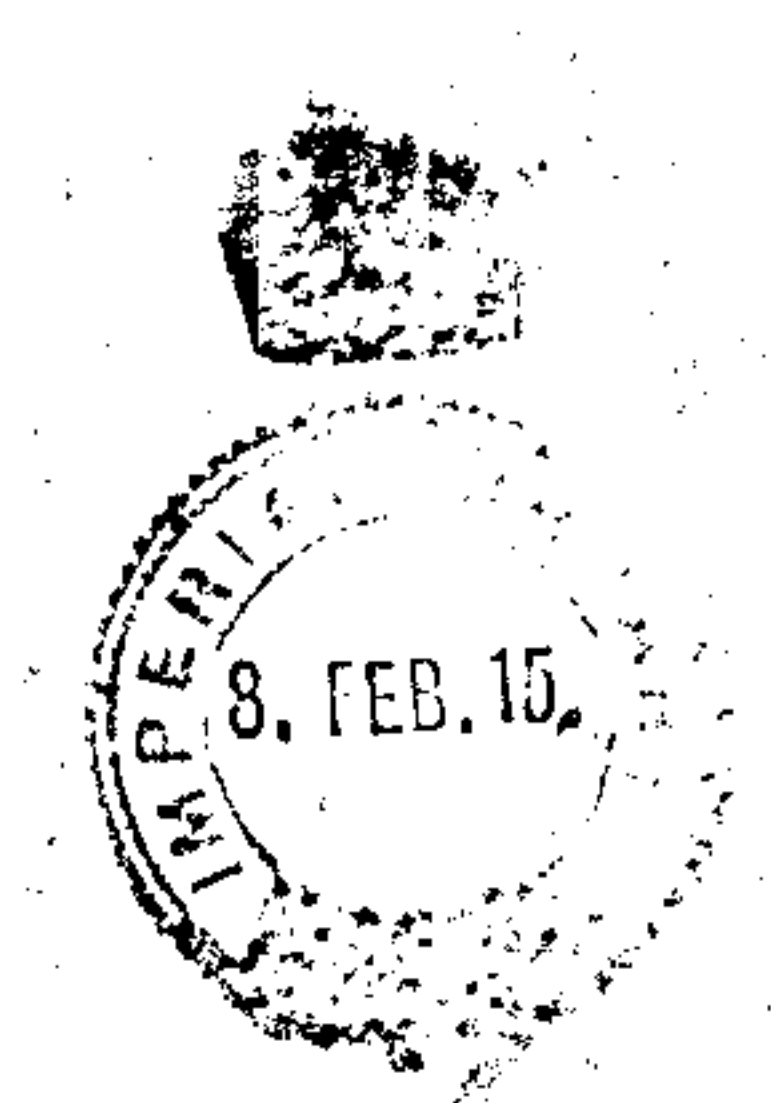
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ERRATUM

On p. 50, footnote 4, *read* "See note 4, p. 31" *instead of* "See note 1, p. 16."

On p. 385, l. 1 of text, *read* Earl *instead of* East.

On p. 379, l. 1, *read* by her authority *instead of* with her authority.

INTRODUCTION

THE present volume is the outcome of a long series of extraordinary opportunities and remarkably fortunate coincidences, which recurred with such persistency that some of my friends are apt to refer to them as "positively uncanny."

During my residence in Mexico, in February 1908, I chanced upon the volume destined to divert me from my researches in Mexican Archaeology which had led me, that day, to the National Archives stored in what was formerly the palace of the Viceroy of New Spain. Interested in Aztec religion and folk-lore, I was, at that time, studying the earliest records of trials of Mexicans, for witchcraft, etc. by the Inquisition, for the purpose of tracing survivals of ancient beliefs and superstitious observances. The records preserved in the National Archives consist of some which escaped destruction and were seized by the Government when, in 1865, Church property was confiscated and the Monastery of Santo Domingo was sacked, the contents of its library and archives being partly burnt and scattered. Simultaneously I was looking out for any documents that might throw light on the fate of the members of the John Hawkins expedition who had been seized by the Inquisition in 1571, and in whom I had become interested through the narratives of their comrades Miles Philips and Job Hortop, published by Hakluyt.

The volume which chance literally threw across my path was that described in the prefatory note to Part VIII. It lay on the floor in a dark and dusty corner from which

I carried it to the light. On turning its pages my attention was arrested by the superscription : "Declaration by Nuño da Silva as to how he was taken prisoner by English pirates on his way from Oporto to Brazil, May 23, 1579." Attracted by the unexpected subject I scanned the document with growing curiosity. It was not, however, until I read on the first line of the page, reproduced on Plate XI, the name "Franco Drac," that my interest became thoroughly aroused. Abandoning Don Carlos, the cacique of Texcoco, whose trial I had recently discovered and was copying, I became absorbed in transcribing the personal description of one of the heroes of my girlhood, Sir Francis Drake. On the following day, in the library of the Geographical Society, I studied the translated text of the relation of the voyage given by Nuño da Silva to the Viceroy of Mexico on May 20th, 1579, and noted the difference between it and the account given under oath by the pilot to the Inquisitors three days later.

Shortly afterwards I left Mexico for the United States and Europe, remaining absent for nearly a year and planning to make a communication on my discovery to the International Geographical Congress which met at Geneva in August, 1908. Illness and a death in my family prevented me from attending the Congress, whose report, however, contains my translation into French of the pilot's sworn deposition. During my stay in England I made a special study of the published accounts of Drake's voyage, and on returning to Mexico instituted a systematic and close search for further remnants of Nuño da Silva's trial records. The result obtained, after two years, is contained in Part IX. My photograph of the page reproduced on Plate XII demonstrates the forbidding character of the majority of the Guatulco documents and the labour their decipherment entailed. Unaided, and frequently discouraged, but by forcing myself to work at them regularly for an hour

each time I went to the Archives, I succeeded in making satisfactory transcriptions and accomplishing a self-imposed task which has made all subsequent work seem easy. And it was well that I made full use of my opportunities during the years when I enjoyed the privilege of working in the National Archives accorded me by Señor Don Ignacio Mariscal, then Minister of Foreign Affairs under the Diaz régime. After the death of this courtly and scholarly gentleman and that of the kindly and courteous Archivist Señor Rubio, the regulations formulated by a different administration rendered further work in the Archives a hardship.

Although the transcription of documents *in extenso* was prohibited and investigations were restricted and discouraged, I persevered until quite satisfied that my search for Drake and Hawkins papers had been exhaustive. Almost on the eve of the actual outbreak of the revolutions which have since devastated the country, I left Mexico for what was expected to be a short absence. Owing to unsettled conditions in that country I came to Europe and carried out my intention of exploring the Archives of Spain. On my way thither I visited some of the most important libraries of the United States, including that of the Hispanic Society of America, in New York. There I saw, for the first time, a copy of the extremely rare map "seen and corrected" by Sir Francis Drake, which is reproduced on Plate II from negatives for which I am indebted to the President of the Hispanic Society, Mr Archer P. Huntington. The originals of the other maps reproduced (Plates III and IV) are preserved in the British Museum, where, as also in the Public Record Office, I prosecuted further researches before proceeding to Spain.

My first destination was Simancas, where three weeks were spent at the wayside inn opposite to the grim old

castle to which the State Archives of Spain were consigned, for safe-keeping, by Philip II. In Madrid unusual privileges were accorded me for studying, not only in the Archives of the Biblioteca Nacional, but also in the Libraries of the Royal Palace, the Real Academia de la Historia and the Real Academia de la Lengua, from whose unique collection of Spanish dictionaries I was able to learn the meaning of many enigmatical words occurring in sixteenth-century documents. My next stay was in Seville, where the distinguished scholar and chief of the Archivo General de Indias, Señor Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, has been rendering great services to Americanists by his valuable publications and the liberality with which he and his staff facilitate and encourage investigation. It gives me pleasure to express here my personal gratitude to Señor Torres Lanzas and Señor José Verger Gonzalez, of the Archives in Seville, and also to Señor Julian Paz and Señor Juan Montero of Simancas, for the much appreciated assistance given me by their prompt responses to my preliminary letters of inquiry and the trouble so often and kindly taken to save me time and work.

As, in both Archives alike, there was no difficulty in obtaining, promptly, reliable copies of lengthy MSS. I was able to devote most of my time to the enjoyable task of hunting through catalogues and bundles of documents: scanning page after page in quest of the hoped-for, and generally finding the unforeseen. In Seville, as expected, I encountered the majority of documents concerning Drake and Nuño da Silva and from the start an exceptional good fortune seemed to favour me.

On the day after my arrival, accompanied by my friend, Miss Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes, I presented myself to Señor Torres Lanzas who, with characteristic hospitality, did the honours of the Archives of the Indies and escorted us through the great rooms lined with shelves filled with

thousands of blue, labelled bundles containing documents relating exclusively to Spanish rule in America. After inspecting some notable MSS. and maps, on exhibition, we finally entered the chief's office, where I was attracted towards a bookcase filled with bundles, possibly by the fact that its glass doors stood invitingly open. Halting near it, still engaged in conversation with my companions who had followed me, I surveyed the contents of the shelves with interest and, stretching out a hand, turned over a label whose blank side hung outwards and was within easy reach. The inscription I read upon it was that quoted in full on p. 128, and it revealed that the documents contained in the bundle I had thus singled out, unconsciously, from the thousands we had passed by, related exclusively to Francis Drake in the South Sea. Without releasing my hold I drew attention to the label, joyfully telling Señor Lanzas that I had just laid hand, unwittingly, upon the very documents I had come all the way from Mexico to seek. Thus without more ado, it was possible for me to begin, next day, to look into the official documents of which Part III holds a selection and the Appendix thereto a list.

My hunt for other Drake MSS. and records concerning Nuño da Silva and John Hawkins was by no means so easy. It entailed prolonged and extensive work, necessitated the transportation of many long-unopened bundles by patient assistants, and the perusal of dusty documents innumerable. My final reward was the delight of being able to trace, by means of the three documents given in Part X, the history of the Portuguese pilot to the date when, furnished by King Philip with money and a passport, he set out on a journey to his home.

It was by studying the catalogues of the Archives that I learnt that a narrative, written by Nuño da Silva, was contained in a bundle of documents relating to the Strait of

Magellan. As the title and date recorded in the catalogue were however incorrect, it was only after a study of the Portuguese pilot's baffling entries that I fully realised that I had before me the only log-book extant of Drake's famous voyage which had lain in obscurity for 333 years.

Thrilling as was this experience, the first perusal of the depositions of a number of Drake's prisoners was not less so. Of all the Seville revelations the one that most impressed me was the record, at the beginning of this volume, of the evidence about Drake given under oath, by his imprisoned comrades, John Oxenham, John Butler and Thomas "Xerores." The tragic circumstances under which their testimony was obtained and the wonder that, after a lapse of centuries, their last utterances should have first reached me, have caused me to sometimes feel as though, in some strange way, messages from those men, long dead, had been entrusted to me for transmission to their living compatriots.

Leaving Seville regretfully I next went to Italy, continuing my researches in the Vatican Archives in Rome, in the Medicean Archives in Florence, and in the Archives of Venice, none of which yielded fresh evidence concerning Drake's voyage. Yet, by mere chance, amongst old engravings offered for sale by a Florentine antiquary, I saw for the first time (and purchased) a copy of the extremely rare French portrait of Drake painted from life by Rabel, and engraved by de Leu. The frontispiece of this volume is reproduced from the copy of the same portrait belonging to the British Museum.

The only result that figures in this volume of my researches in Paris (in the Archives Nationales and the departments of the Bibliothèque Nationale) is the English MS. quoted on p. 407. On my return to England my offer of the Drake documents was accepted by the Hakluyt Society and I settled down to prepare the present volume,

within easy access of the Bodleian Library, the British Museum and Public Record Office. Some of the results of my researches in England are given in Parts IX, XII and XIII and in the Appendix.

The present volume, which contains a collection of documents relating exclusively to Francis Drake's voyage of circumnavigation, which extended from December 13, 1577 to September 26, 1580, constitutes an appropriate complement to *Drake's World Encompassed* edited by W. S. W. Vaux and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1854. The nucleus of the collection consists of translations *in extenso* of what may be considered as 65 separate Spanish documents hitherto unpublished. In the Appendix to Part III a list is given of 23 unpublished documents of minor importance which I studied at Seville, and in my notes quotations of further unpublished reports are made, as well as references to several documents which have been published in Spanish but have escaped the notice of historians of Drake.

The present volume includes translations, from the originals of Seville, of John Drake's two narratives of the voyage (Nos. 2 and 3 of Part I). The Spanish text and translations of both documents have already been published by Lady Elliot Drake, but I have thought it desirable that John Drake's evidence should appear with that of other eyewitnesses. Moreover his narratives serve as a necessary adjunct to the present introduction by supplying the reader with summaries of the voyage. Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's spirited account of the pursuit of Drake, in which he took an active part, supplements the Narratives of the voyages of that famous captain as edited by Sir Clements Markham for the Hakluyt Society in 1895.

The representative series of official documents given in Part III and the set of depositions in Part IV would have been incomplete without the two official letters and the

depositions of two prisoners which were published, in the original Spanish, by Señor Don Manuel Peralta. Although these and Sarmiento's narrative have been quoted by English historians, no translations of them, *in extenso*, have, to my knowledge, appeared.

The remarkable first reports about Drake's actions in the South Sea, which were received and annotated by King Philip II and of which translations are given in Part XI, have been published in Spanish, but seem to have escaped the notice of English historians. The translation of one of Nuño da Silva's accounts of the voyage is given in the language of Hakluyt corrected and amplified by collation with the original document at Seville.

In foot-note 3, on page 13, Hakluyt's text of the safe-conduct given by Drake to Captain de Anton is reprinted, in order to show how, in this, owing to the wrong transcription of a single word and the interpolation of a single comma, the true sense of Drake's message has been obscured for centuries. Its heroic purport now stands revealed through the translation of Drake's letter into Spanish made by his old comrade, John Butler, in the Inquisition prison at Lima, on July 7, 1579.

The originals of the English documents grouped in Parts IX, XII, XIII and Appendix, two of which are reproduced on Plates XVI and XVII, are preserved in the Public Record Office and the Bodleian. Those in Parts IX and XII and No. 2 in the Appendix are, I believe, as yet unpublished.

The present collection would have been incomplete without the already published refutation of false charges by Drake and his company and the reproductions, in facsimile, of their signatures in Part XIII which concludes this volume.

It was my intention to publish, simultaneously with my translations, the original Spanish texts. In order to

supply their deficiency as far as possible, I have made a point of furnishing, in foot-notes, the original wording of all records of words uttered by Drake. Moreover the Spanish transcriptions have been deposited at the British Museum where they are accessible for consultation, pending their publication. This will surely follow, sooner or later, for, apart from the fresh light they throw on Drake's personality and his actions during the voyage, the collection furnishes historians with the first survey of the entire Pacific Coast of America ever made and a vivid picture of the conditions existing there after about half a century of Spanish colonisation.

They throw a most favourable light upon the high type of men entrusted with the administration of Spain's distant colonies and furnish scholars with a remarkable set of specimens of the Spanish language as written and spoken, at the time of Cervantes, by officials of high and low degree residing in Spain and in America.

I doubt whether it would be possible to match so complete and varied a set of official documents, all relating to a single subject and written, within a few years, by men of such different degrees as the King of Spain, members of his Council, Viceroy of Mexico and Peru, military and naval commanders, governors of provinces and ecclesiastical dignitaries down to alcaides, notaries and petty officials filling humble posts in Mexico and on the Pacific Coast of South and Central America.

Amongst these some remarkable examples of literary style are met with, such as the letters of Don Luis de Velasco (p. 232), Valverde (pp. 100 and 107), Palacios (p. 120) and Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa (p. 59).

The collection also comprises many sworn declarations, not only of Spaniards, but also of Englishmen, Flemings, and Portuguese, cited before civil or military authorities or the Holy Office of the Inquisition in America. Written as

they were under the stress of the intense excitement caused by an extraordinary and amazing experience, the official letters and reports are not only unusually lively in style and expressive of individuality but admirable for their tone of moderation and utter absence of sensationalism and exaggeration.

The declarations of Drake's prisoners, made under solemn oaths and circumstances, and scrupulously recorded verbatim, graphically describe their experiences, that of the youth who was "hanged" (i.e. ducked from the yard-arm) being particularly interesting.

It certainly redounds to their credit that, instead of giving vent to complaints about injuries or inconveniences suffered and losses of property incurred, the witnesses describe, with evident zest, what they observed and heard while on board of the *Golden Hind* and record details which bring into relief the bonhomie of Drake's character. A delightfully humorous instance of this is contained in the Governor of Guatulco's account of how he and other officials agreed to go on board Drake's ship to beg him to desist from committing further depredations. They were encouraged to take this step by one of the party who declared that he knew, from experience, that Drake "was a man to whom one could speak." He also knew that Drake was the sort of man who would be sure to invite them to stay and dine with him! His hospitality was, of course, to be religiously avoided, for, arch-heretic that he was, he ate meat in Lent. So the Spaniards deliberately planned to elude the invitation by first dining ashore. When they came aboard, as foreseen, Drake invited them to dinner but, after receiving their polite excuse, merely ordered refreshments and wine to be served, which were duly partaken of by his visitors. A few days later they must have learnt that when the Vicar of Guatulco refused to eat meat at Drake's table he was supplied with fish.

One of the Spaniards who, under such unique circumstances, evaded a dinner invitation, was the pompous Alcalde who, in his official reports, described how, when the Englishmen landed in Guatulco, it had been "necessary for him to abandon the town" and that he had "retired little by little to the wood," whereas other witnesses declare that "all ran away." Drake was not with the landing party and took no active part in the wanton sack and desecration of the village church of which they were guilty. The religious tolerance he showed to his Catholic prisoners is reported by them appreciatively, one recording that they had been "allowed to tell their Christian beads as they were accustomed to do"; and several relating how Drake had told them that if they did not want to witness the daily "Lutheran ceremonies" they could retire to the prow or the poop or wherever they chose.

At Guatulco his prisoners (detained merely so as to ensure his obtaining the needed supply of water) did not follow his suggestion with sufficient alacrity and therefore remained nigh, closely observing every detail of the solemn and impressive service. Consumed by curiosity Gomez Rengifo even peered over Drake's shoulder into the book from which the latter was reading aloud. The Spaniard's indiscretion and something in his whole conduct and attitude seems to have irritated Drake extremely, otherwise he would scarcely have taken the trouble to re-open the book, which proves to have been Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, and pointed out certain pictures, thereupon giving vent to anti-Catholic speeches.

The now established fact that Drake spoke Spanish fluently, is attributed by Spanish historians of repute to his having gone to Spain in his youth as one of the twenty English pages who accompanied thither Jane Dormer, the Duchess of Feria. The latter, a cousin of Sir Philip Sidney, was the devoted and favourite maid of honour

of Queen Mary Tudor and married the Duke of Feria, who acted as King Philip's representative at the time of Elizabeth's accession and later became one of his most trusted ministers. Accompanied by a large retinue, the young Duchess journeyed in state through Flanders and France to Spain and made a solemn entry into Toledo, where the Court then resided and her husband awaited her.

My investigations on the subject tend to corroborate the truth of the Spanish assertion, which we have, however, no direct means of verifying or disproving.

Such an opportunity to acquire, in early life, besides a proficiency in Spanish, refined and cultivated tastes and courtly manners would, however, explain the (otherwise unaccountable) *savoir faire* Drake possessed and the ease with which he held intercourse with Spanish noblemen, from de Zarate to Pedro de Valdez in later life, on a footing of recognised equality and mutual understanding.

That Drake inspired men of all nationalities and degrees, who came into personal contact with him, with respect and admiration, is amply proved by the reports of his prisoners, who can certainly not be accused of being prejudiced in his favour. Their depositions abound with gratuitous records of small acts of kindness or generosity performed by him, and quotations of the words he uttered. These are sometimes so exactly recorded that they reveal mistakes in the gender of nouns and other blunders such as an Englishman, though speaking Spanish fluently, might naturally make.

In the translation of documents it has been my endeavour to preserve, as far as possible, the peculiarities of the Spanish text and the different modes of expression and vocabulary used by each individual, according to his degree of education. The task has been a congenial one, lightened by the circumstance that, in the pursuit of my special studies, sixteenth-century books and MSS. have been my daily companions for over twenty-five years. My interpretations

of antiquated phrases are either based on numerous examples of their use in familiar contemporary documents or upon the authority of the dictionaries of the Real Academia de la Lengua to which I habitually refer. In cases of difficulty I have consulted living authorities in person or by letter and spared no pains to insure the faithfulness of my interpretations. In the case of Nuño da Silva's log-book (p. 272) the photographs taken at Seville were sent to Lisbon where a distinguished Portuguese palaeographer accomplished the difficult task of transcribing the illiterate and, in places, barely legible Portuguese text, which was afterwards translated, by a joint endeavour, in London. The translation of the Latin commission (p. 385) was entrusted to Dr H. Thomas, of the British Museum, and the English documents are printed in their original form from certified copies. The classification and presentation of such a number of heterogeneous documents in readable form was a problem which I have attempted to solve by assorting them, according to subjects, into thirteen groups, and adjusting the latter so that they form a consecutive history of the voyage and of the persons concerned with it. A rigid adherence to chronological order in presenting the documents themselves was not expedient, for while the voyage itself only lasted from December 1577 to September 1580, its records extend over a longer period. Nuño da Silva's log-book, begun in January 1578, may be considered the earliest of the series. The latest is John Drake's narrative dated 1587. The majority of the official reports were, however, written in 1579 and 1580.

The editorial notes which precede the thirteen Parts and a number of particularly interesting documents form a continuation of the present Introduction and complete it, and to them the reader is referred for further details.

• Distributed in these prefatory notes and in innumerable foot-notes, will be found many quotations from further

unpublished documents and references to rare MSS. and books, as well as biographical and historical data and observations on the contents of the fresh documents presented.

In the case of Nuño da Silva's log-book, a close comparative study has been made of all dates respectively recorded by the Portuguese pilot and the several English authorities for the voyage.

In the Note at the end of the volume I have attempted to deal systematically with what information has been preserved concerning the names and fate of the men who accompanied Drake on the famous voyage. The result has been that the names of 96 men are recorded and 109 out of an original number of about 150 men are accounted for. With facsimiles of Drake's signature and those of 49 members of his brave company, Part XIII comes to an end.

The contents of the numerous documents furnish so many new facts concerning the voyage and throw so much fresh light upon this and Drake's personality, actions and aims that I find it impossible to summarise them. Each one of the many subjects is either too important or interesting to be merely mentioned or dismissed with a few words. Nor can the true value of the new facts be justly estimated until they have been thoroughly amalgamated with familiar data and the result employed as a solid basis for reconstructions.

Such a process demands, however, much thought, time and space, as I realised on attempting to summarise, for this introduction, the new and old data relating to the two much-discussed questions whether Drake discovered Cape Horn and how far north he explored the Pacific Coast of America. By the time I had united and analysed the fresh material, collated it with what has been published on the described the map reproduced on Plate II and compared

it with other contemporary maps, my note had assumed proportions which will compel me to publish it later on, separately, as a monograph. Nothing short of a series of such monographs and a revised and complete version of the history of Drake's voyage around the world will, indeed, suffice as an adequate means of distributing the fresh knowledge gained concerning it and its true purpose.

Valuable as the fresh material is, it cannot, of course, ever compensate for the irreparable loss of Drake's diary of the voyage which, according to Mendoza, he presented to his sovereign on his return.

That Drake kept a book in which he entered his navigation and painted representations of the strange new species of "birds, trees and sea-lions" he had met with, is now proven. From Nuño da Silva we learn how much time and labour he expended upon it and how when he and his young cousin "shut themselves up in his cabin, they were always painting" (p. 303). As da Silva states that both were skilled painters and makes no mention of other artists, it seems as though the coloured representations of the coast seen by de Zarate (p. 207) may have been drawn by Drake, probably the sole competent cartographer on board and were only coloured by his assistant.

It is known that, on his return, Drake presented to "the Archbishop of Canterbury, his friend" a map of his voyage, "richly decorated with coloured and gilded designs," for which, by the way, I have sought in vain. The exquisitely drawn maps of Drake's last voyage, now preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (MS. Anglais 51) reveal not only his refined artistic taste, but also the kind of outline "pictures of the coast" that were seen by de Zarate and seem to have been peculiar to Drake.

In connection with the Doughty trial Drake's journal is mentioned in the following memorable passage: "... *What so I shall here speke, let anye man take good notice of what I*

shall say, and let hym write it downe, for I will speke nothinge but I wyll answeere it in England, yea and before hir maiestie and I have it here alredy set downe, but whethar [adds Fletcher] it were in his boke, as he made mention of, I knowe not..." (Vaux, p. 212).

The precious journal, if not already lost, was at all events inaccessible in 1628, else Drake's nephew, namesake and heir, would not have "offered now at last to publique view both for the honour of the actor...and for the stirring up of heroick spirits" the narrative of the voyage "*carefully collected out of the notes of Master Francis Fletcher*" which he published as *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*.

The total disappearance of Drake's journal and his charts, maps and drawings greatly enhances the value of the one letter written by him during his voyage (p. 15), the drawings and maps (see Plates III and IV) in the Sloane MSS. 61 (probably Fletcher's copies of originals by Drake), and all records of the various statements he was heard to make, at different times, about himself, his actions and plans.

The lengthiest speeches of his which have been set down are those contained in the *World Encompassed* and in John Cooke's *Narrative*.

It is a striking instance of the irony of fate that, through Drake having, in fulfilment of his obligation¹ delivered his

¹ The late J. G. Kohl surmised that "the instructions given to Sir Francis Drake on his remarkable circumnavigation of the globe were the same as those given later by the Lords of the Council to M. Fenton for the order to be observed in the voyage," one of them being as follows:—

"18. item you shall give straight order to restraine that none shall make any charts or description of the said voyage but such as shall be deputed by you the Generall; which said charts and description we think meete that you, the Generall shall take into your hands at your returne to this our coast of England leaving with them no copee and to present them unto us at your return, the like to be done if they find any charts or maps in this country."

Descriptive Catalogue of those Charts and surveys relating to America... Washington, 1857.

description and charts of his voyage to his Queen, his countrymen have been deprived of his own evidence and been obliged to base their estimate of his achievement and the Doughty affair upon that of two such men as Fletcher and Cooke. The first not only incurred the severe displeasure of Drake, but had been punished by him and characterised as "the falsest knave that liveth."

John Cooke accompanied John Winter when the latter deserted the expedition and the text of his "narrative" plainly shows that it consists of a report of the Doughty affair which was subsequently tampered with for the malicious purpose of injuring Drake's reputation and would have done so had the latter never returned to England. Like the most dangerous of lies, the evidence of both men is composed of untruths and truths. Fortunately it is now possible to recognise and single out the latter more easily than heretofore and, strange to say, amongst them are portions of speeches of Drake reported verbatim. These were evidently left unaltered for they ring true and they furnish evidence of utmost value. Next to these comes John Oxenham's reminiscences, incidentally given and recorded by a secretary of the Inquisition at Lima (p. 9). Then follows the many fragments of Drake's conversation, which are recorded in the sworn depositions or letters of the Spaniards and others, who came into contact with him as prisoners or otherwise in the South Sea.

The fact that it was customary, after administering the oath, to exhort witnesses "to declare without hatred or illwill towards any person whatsoever the truth of all he knew, or had seen or heard..." affords an explanation of the remarkable character of the evidence given. Under the influence of an exhortation dictated by the gentle spirit of truly Christian charity, the witnesses conscientiously declared the bare truth, without comment or expression of personal feeling. The service they thereby unconsciously

rendered posterity is inestimable, for, with their testimony to complete the rest, Drake's countrymen can now know exactly what his own statements were concerning the two much-discussed questions as to whether he made the voyage around the world with a licence from his Queen (i.e. whether he was a pirate or not), and whether Doughty's execution was justifiable. I shall now let Drake speak for himself, presenting, however, as an accompaniment to the precious fragmentary speeches, such collateral evidence as I have been able to collect, all of which proves to be corroborative.

DRAKE'S STATEMENTS CONCERNING HIS VOYAGE
AND THE DOUGHTY AFFAIR.

"...Captain Francis had often spoken to witness saying that if the Queen would grant him the licence, he would pass through the Strait of Magellan and found settlements over here in some good country."

John Oxenham, who made the above statement under oath at Lima, Peru, also deposed as follows: "Witness thinks that if the Queen were to give a licence to Captain Francis Drake he would certainly come and pass through the Strait, because he is a very good mariner and pilot (navigator), and there is no better one than he in England who could accomplish this" (see p. 10).

There was no man living at that time who could speak more authoritatively about Drake than John Oxenham, the old comrade whom he had especially informed how, after his first sight of the Pacific in 1573, he had "*besought Almighty God of His goodness to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea.*" His prayer partook of the nature of a vow, for Camden states "from that time forward his mind was pricked on continually, night and day, to perform his vow."

From the depositions of John Oxenham and his

companions we further learn: that no company of armed ships could possibly set out from England without a commission from Queen Elizabeth; that her revocation of the licence she had given to Sir Richard Grenville had caused the expedition to be abandoned; that Drake, disappointed in his hope of joining it, was only awaiting an opportunity to launch on the same project. What he needed for doing so were the requisite means and letters patent analogous to those granted later (in 1578) to Sir Humphrey Gilbert: "to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by Christian princes and people." Drake's opportunity came a few years later.

Exasperated by a whole series of actions which she considered as insults and injuries to her crown and her church, Queen Elizabeth and her confidants made a "plott" [i.e. a plan] to deal Spain and Catholicism as underhand a blow as those constantly being directed against England and Protestantism by King Philip.

Walter, Earl of Essex, under whom Drake had served with distinction in quelling the rebellion in Ireland recommended the latter through Secretary Walsingham to the Queen as a man of experience and practice, well fitted to serve her against the Spaniards. Essex undertook to communicate the Queen's plan of revenge to Drake, whose own account is that he at first refused to sign any agreement to serve as an instrument against Spain. Not only was he unwilling, at that particular time, to absent himself from his home, a fact he referred to again later (see p. 173), but he affirmed that "*hir Maiesty was mortall, and yf it should please God to take hir Maiesty awaie, it myght be that some prince might raine that might be in league with the Kynge of Spayne and then wyll myne owne hand be a witness against myselfe*" (Cooke, Vaux, p. 215).

Drake's account of his interview with the Queen is rendered as follows by Cooke: "*Then was I very shortly*

aftar and in an eveninge sent for unto hir Maiestie by secretary Wallsyngham, but cam not to hir Maiestie that nyght, for that it was late; but the next daye^e comynge to hir presens, thes or the lyke words (as he said) Drake, So it is that I would be gladly revenged on the Kynge of Spayne, for dyvers iniuries that I have receyved and sayd fardar that he was thonely man that myght do this exployte and withall craved his advice therein."

The Queen's plan evidently contained some project of attack on Spain itself, for after discussing the subject, Drake "*told her Maiestie of the smale good that was to be done in Spayne, but thonly waye was to anoy hym by his Indyas.*"

The most direct and effectual way of attaining this object had surely been incorporated in the Queen's plot, and consisted of making reprisals and seizing Spanish treasure wherever obtainable on sea or land. How far Queen Elizabeth was justified in adopting such means of retaliation and of commissioning Drake, her subject, to carry them out, cannot be discussed here. We shall see that he considered himself as her instrument and felt exonerated from all blame.

With a view of throwing light on Drake's actions, and his own statements on the subject, it is pointed out here that Sir Francis Bacon, who was better fitted, particularly by reason of his intimate personal knowledge of all circumstances and his legal training, to pronounce a final verdict on the subject, has expressed his view that Philip's armed invasion of Ireland in 1580 "added to all preceding injuries,...did sufficiently warrant and justify the pursuit of revenge in the Indies by Mr Drake which afterwards followed," even when it took such a drastic form as the capture and sackage of San Domingo and Cartagena¹.

¹ *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, ed. Spedding, vol. viii, p. 195

Queen Elizabeth obviously felt, when she summoned Drake, that the injuries inflicted by the procuring of a rebellion in Ireland and in other ways, prior to 1577, justified her "annoying King Philip in the Indies." We now know that Drake succeeded in doing so without shedding the blood of a single Spaniard. One of Drake's own statements in the South Sea is recorded as follows :

"He states publicly that the warfare he is carrying on is a just one, for which he has a licence from his Queen" (p. 241):

The views held by even the noblest of Drake's contemporaries concerning the seizure of Spanish treasure are further revealed through the biographies of Sir Philip Sidney, the flower of English chivalry. We are told by one of his biographers that "terribly worried at the failure of Protestantism in Europe he conceived a scheme for striking a blow against Catholicism by attacking Spanish colonies and Spanish ships...what he could do or get was to be of use to the professors of the true religion." It is well known that Sir Philip Sidney and the Earl of Essex (the son of Drake's former patron), personifications of what was highest and best in England at the time, would have succeeded in associating themselves closely with Drake by joining his expedition in 1586, had they not been prevented from doing so at the last moment. A more convincing proof that a community of views and aims existed between the trio can scarcely be given, and a statement which throws light upon the friendship that bound them together is the following: "Drake and Essex followed his (Sir Philip Sidney's) hearse, as they had befriended him in life¹."

It had been Drake's long cherished wish to penetrate into the South Sea, and it seems probable that he himself conceived and developed the daring plan which he

¹ *Life of F. York Powell* by Oliver Elton, vol. ii, p. 116.

eventually carried through. Who but Francis Drake could, indeed, have imagined, as an accompaniment to a mission of revenge, a circumnavigation of the globe (such as had only once previously, and not quite successfully, been attempted), but also an exploration of the entire Pacific Coast of America with a view of taking possession of the regions beyond the limits of Spanish occupation. With a mind filled with great projects for the aggrandizement of England through oversea possessions, the spread of Protestantism, the extension of trade and the glory to be attained for English seamanship by the accomplishment of the feat of circumnavigation, the seizure even of Spanish treasure-ships must indeed have appeared to Drake as of secondary importance, though not so his loyal fulfilment of his Sovereign's bidding to "annoy the King of Spain."

That the prime object of the voyage, from the start, was "discovery" is shown by the evidence on p. 386, which is corroborated by Lope de Vega's lines¹. In these the poet renders homage to Drake's "heroic achievement of that world-famous voyage, on which he was the second to pass the strait," and then says, "Well did thy Queen know thy great valour, which might cause the depths of the sea to tremble, when she gave thee the three vessels, the only ones ever to sight, in a single voyage, both poles."

That credit for the project of the voyage of circumnavigation was given to Queen Elizabeth by her own subjects is shown by the terms in which Purchas quaintly alludes to her Majesty having "by her Generall first

¹ Mira despues aquel heróyco hecho
De tu viage celebre en el mundo
Quando passaste aquel famoso estrecho
Siendo de Magallanes el segundo.
Bien conocio la Regna tu gran pecho
Que pudo hazer temblar la mar profundo
Quando te dio los tres navios solos
Que vieron de un viage los dos polos.

(*Dragontea*, p. 40.)

loosed the virgin zone of the earth and like another Sunne ...encircled the Globe¹."

Drake's own assertion was "*that he came in the service of his Queen, his Sovereign Lady, whose orders he obeyed and that he had come more for another object [for something more] than the seizing of ships*" (p. 318, see also p. 319).

There is abundant proof that Drake sailed with an authorised and carefully thought out and written plan, i.e. "The plott of the voyage" which Thomas Doughty confessed to having given to Burleigh, may have been a more or less complete copy of this document.

• The following statements of Drake made during the early part of the journey contain interesting references to the plan. "*What composition or agreement we haue made [about] my returne to England, I will by Gods helpe perfourme... I am the man I haue promised to be...*" (p. 13), another rendering of which, by Butler, reads: "*What we determined about the return to our country will be carried out if God so wills...I abide, as God knows...*" (p. 16).

Drake informed several persons "*it was agreed between him and his two missing captains that they were to meet and await each other in the 30 deg. S. or, if they failed to do so, in 2½ deg. S. which means the Cape of San Francisco*" (p. 94). Alluding to his lost ships he told de Anton that "*they had never been seen or heard of since but that he suspected that they had gone to stay at the Moluccas*" (p. 168). While off the coast of Nicaragua he told Colchero that "*he wanted to go to the port of Acapulco in New Spain and from thence take the route to China...and from there to Goa*" (p. 187). To Solano he said that he had "*ordered his captains to meet him at a certain date, at Macao or Goa, in the Portuguese Indies, so as to proceed thence to his own*

¹ Hakluytus Posthumus, *Purchas His Pilgrims*. Sam Purchas. Ed. Jas. MacLehose, vol. i, p. 34.

country" (p. 114, cf. p. 197). Da Silva testified that Drake had often told him and others "*that he was bound to go to look for the strait of Bacallaos*" (p. 253), or "*that he was bound to return by the Strait of Bacallaos which he had also come to explore...or discover*" (pp. 317 and 319). More explicit is another statement of da Silva: "While in the Port of Guatulco, he produced a map and pointed out a strait situated in 66 deg. north, saying: '*that he had to go there and that if he did not find an opening he would have to go back by China*'" (p. 319). While Drake thus frankly communicated his intention of searching for a strait, of the existence of which he may well have been as sceptical as Nũño da Silva (see p. 252), he observed absolute silence about what we can now recognise as the chief object of his voyage northward.

The absence, in all of da Silva's evidence, of any reference to Drake's having taken possession of and named the Elizabeth islands seems to indicate that he had been kept in ignorance of so important an action. His narrative and account of having seen Drake turn back and anchor off a point in the strait (p. 316) establish, moreover, that he had been placed on one of the smaller ships and disposes of the groundless suspicion, expressed by some Spanish officials, that da Silva had piloted Drake through the Strait of Magellan.

It is obvious that the leaving of da Silva at Guatulco, for which Drake has been censured, was, partly at least, a precautionary measure, and it is significant that after mentioning his release, John Drake added, as though with satisfaction, that they had then "set sail with men of their own nation only" (p. 31).

Bound as Drake really was to search for "good lands for founding future settlements" beyond the northernmost point (Cape Mendocino, in 40 deg.) reached by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo in 1542, and subsequently to pass

through the Portuguese Indies, it would have been more than unwise if he had taken with him his Portuguese prisoner. The latter, moreover, consciously or unconsciously, but successfully, served in Mexico as an instrument of Drake's for the purpose of causing annoyance to Spain.

In his unprecedented search for the western entrance to the "Strait of Anian" and for the lands he longed to discover, Drake ventured so far north that even he dared go no further, and was forced to turn back on account of the intense cold and ice he encountered, earning, however, the credit, accorded to him by contemporary poets, of having sighted the North as well as the South Pole.

After exploring the coast on the way southward, he landed in a region on which he bestowed the name of New Albion. Before departing thence he "caused to be set up a monument of our being there, as also of her maiesties and successors right and title to that kingdome," thus "taking possession, in the behalfe of her Maiestie" of a territory, the boundaries of which we shall see defined by Drake's hand further on.

It was Drake's dream that in the "New England" of which he had thus laid the foundations (in defiance of the Papal Bull which had apportioned the New World between Spain and Portugal) the natives might, by kindly treatment and "the preaching of the Gospell be brought to the right knowledge and obedience of the true and everlasting God" (Vaux, p. 129). Emphasis is laid in the *World Encompassed* and in the original source of the statement that "the Spaniards never had any dealing, or so much as set a foote in this country, onely to many degrees Southward of this place" (Vaux, pp. 132 and 226). The New English Protestant colony was to offer a contrast to the Portuguese and Spanish dominions in America, conquered with bloodshed and ruled by methods which, as Drake had occasion to realise in Brazil and Mocha, had caused the natives to

regard their conquerors as their worst enemies (see Vaux, pp. 35 *et seq.* and 99).

"The 'riches and treasures of the country (wherewith in the upland countries it abounds)' were to be transported to the enriching of her maiesty's kingdom" (Vaux, p. 129). How great Drake estimated the riches to be may be surmised by the record that "there is no part of earth here to bee taken up, wherein there is not some special likelihood of gold or silver." How seriously he thought that the New England he planned might become as great a source of wealth to its mother country as New Spain and Peru was to theirs, is revealed by the last document in this volume. In this "project of a corporation" "in cōsideration of his late notable dyscoverye of dominions," Drake was to "supplye the place of Governor" and enjoy certain privileges. The Queen was to erect an equivalent to the *Casa de Contratacion* in Seville, and to receive (like the King of Spain) a definite part "of all gold and silver found in the mines of these and other countries hereafter to be discovered" guardedly referred to only as being "beyond the equynoctyall lyne."

How energetically Drake endeavoured later to follow up his "notable dyscoverye" is shown by the plans about which Mendoza wrote to King Philip II on January 9th, 1581, repeating that Leicester and the Queen had agreed with Drake that he was to start with ten ships "for the Moluccas"—that simultaneously a company of six ships was to go to the coast of Brazil with orders to join Drake later "in the Moluccas," etc. This plan had to be abandoned, for Drake's services could not be spared when political complications were increasing and a war with Spain seemed more or less imminent.

Another expedition was organised and ordered to the Moluccas, fitted out with all that was needful for the establishment of a colony, and instructions, one of which

was the order to attempt, under the guidance of Drake's men, to find a northern route to New Albion.

By some intrigue the command was finally given to Edward Fenton, whom Drake and his men suspected of having dealings with the Spanish Ambassador. It certainly came to pass that orders were disregarded, the fleet was taken to the coast of Brazil, where it was met and attacked by Spanish ships. Suspecting treachery John Drake and a small party separated themselves from the expedition, which was then abandoned. Thus the attempt to colonise New Albion and establish trade relations with the East Indies was frustrated.

That it was Drake's long cherished definite plan to establish a colony or trading station on the Pacific coast is proved by the evidence given by the young clerk who was "hanged." He reported that "he had heard Drake say that¹, *if God spared his life, he would return there from his country with six or seven galleons*" (p. 151). His intention as to the furtherance of English trade, are shown in his threats to de Zarate: "*that if His Majesty gave the English permission to trade in the Indies of the North Sea (Atlantic), they would be peaceable, but if not they would come and commit depredations in both seas*" (p. 251). So also to de Anton: "*If the King of Spain did not give them the licence to trade, which they desire, [agreeing to] pay him his dues, they would come and carry away the silver*" (p. 174).

Drake's actions and conduct throughout were in consonance with the great and patriotic purpose with which he undertook what was designated as "so honourable a voyage, attempted, continued and happily accomplished...at her highness' command" (Sloane MS. 61). He is repeatedly reported to have said that he had come "by order of the Queen" (p. 143) and that "he carried her commission"

¹ *Purchas*, vol. xvi, p. 116.

(p. 179), while his cousin John Drake explicitly states that "Captain Francis Drake was sent by the Queen of England and *her Council*" (p. 24).

That Queen Elizabeth who, as Sir Fulke Greville wrote, "lent her Princely countenance to all long voyages¹, made contributions of" dainties and perfumed waters to the provisions of Drake's ship was stated by Drake to de Zarate (p. 207).

Light on the true purpose of her gifts is furnished by the following passage concerning Drake's preparations for the voyage: "neither did he omit to make provision also for ornament or delight, carrying to this purpose with him expert musitians, rich furniture (all the vessels for his table, yea, many belonging even to the Cooke-room being of pure silver) and divers shewes of all sorts of curious workmanship, *whereby the civilitie and magnificense of his native countrie might, amongst the nations whithersoever he should come, be the more admired*" (Vaux, p. 7).

Some Spanish prisoners related that Drake "carried the insignia of his Queen" (p. 94), by which they presumably meant her royal arms, as they carried the arms of their king on the flag fastened to the main-mast (p. 148).

Drake also stated that "*he carried the arms the Queen of England had given him*" (p. 179). Da Silva mentions the arms which he saw engraved on one of the two bronze cannons on the *Golden Hind*. Drake explained to him that "*these were his arms and that the Queen had given them to him, sending him to encompass the world.*" According to the Portuguese pilot's remembrance, the arms consisted of a globe and a North Star. He also uses the expression, "in it across" [or passing over], which seems to refer to the "fess wavy" which, with the other two emblems, are engraved on Drake's seal still preserved at Nutwell Court

¹ *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, 1652.

(p. 318). The importance of this evidence need not be pointed out. It would seem that the "arms," engraved on the cannon and silver service given by Queen Elizabeth to Drake, was originally one of the "pretie devices" in vogue, intended to be emblematic of the voyage. The globe = the world to be encompassed; the fess wavy = perhaps the strait to be passed or the watery tract of the vessel. The North Star may have conveyed a veiled allusion to the mission to seek for the Strait of Anian and unoccupied lands north of New Spain.

After Drake's return the second pole star was added, probably in allusion to his voyage to the southernmost point until then reached by an European.

Other augmentations were "the ship trained about the globe terrestrial with golden hawsers by the direction of a hand appearing out of the clouds."

It is cited, as an instance of Drake's devotion, that he added the words *Divino Auxilio* to the motto, *Tu primus circumdedisti me*, which was inscribed on the augmented crest after his return¹. Besides the foregoing emblems Drake also employed the "red dragon" which constitutes an interesting example of "canting arms."

The familiar statement that "before his departure her Majesty had committed her sword [to him] to use for his safety, with this word: 'We doe account that he which striketh at thee, Drake, striketh at us'" (Vaux, p. 65), is greatly substantiated by the fact that a gold-embroidered "sea capp" and scarf (still preserved as heirlooms in the Drake family) were actually given to him on that occasion by his sovereign.

According to tradition it was by the Queen's maids of honour that the appropriate legend, "The Lord guide and preserve thee until the ende," was embroidered on the

¹ *Western Antiquary*, 1885, vol. iv, p. 94.

ornamental red bands at both ends of the green silk scarf which Drake is, moreover, represented as wearing in the Nutwell Court portrait.

In the frontispiece of this volume he is portrayed with the insignia of a general as well as that of a naval commander, facts entirely consonant with his use of the title "Generall" and "Captain-Generall" during the voyage, and the words "war" and "war-fare" when speaking of his course of action and seizure of men and treasure (see pp. 158, 241).

Drake's statement that "*one half of the Armada belonged to the Queen*" (p. 208) is corroborated by Lope de Vega's, already cited. The exceptionally substantial make of the *Golden Hind*, the Queen's subsequent order that it should be preserved at Deptford as a memorial, seems to indicate that the ship may have been built at this famous English shipyard expressly for the voyage, and was considered to be royal property.

At San Julian, under solemn circumstances Drake told his assembled company: "*...yf I never come home, yet wyll her Maiestie paye every man his wages, whom indede yow and we all come to serve, and for to saye you come to serve me I will not gyve yow thanks for it is onely her Maiestie that you serve and this voyadge is onely her setting forth*" (Vaux, p. 217). At San Julian he also "red a bill of her Maiestie's aventure of a thousand crownes" (Vaux, p. 206), which, according to other statements, appears to have been the same amount as he and Sir Christopher Hatton and a third unnamed great personage had invested.

That Queen Elizabeth carried on secret money transactions with Drake is shown by her letter to Tremayne (p. 429), and the alacrity with which she allowed Drake to reimburse himself with the sum of £10,000 awakens suspicion that this may have been the sum he deposited as "securities" prior to his departure (see p. 404).

The following statements by Drake afford glimpses into the peculiarities of the Queen's agreement concerning the division of the proceeds of reprisals between herself and her General: "*He told deponent that the Viceroy of New Spain had not kept his word with John Hawkins (at San Juan de Ulua in 1596) and that this had cost him seven thousand ducats. He had come to recover this sum and carried an authorisation from the Queen so that he could commit robberies for this purpose and all that he took over and above this was for the said Queen...*" (p. 173). "*Francis Drake complained of the Viceroy of Mexico (and said he) had lost seven thousand pesos...three hundred Englishmen had been killed...*"

"*For the reason that the King had, since that time, been his treasurer for the sum that had been taken from him ten years ago, he now wished to act as treasurer of the King's estate. Therefore the silver which he took from the King was for himself; the silver taken from private individuals was for his Queen, his Sovereign Lady*" (p. 161).

The reader will have noticed the quaint humour of Drake's satirical reference to the King of Spain and himself as alternately acting as each other's treasurers. It recalls the following saying of his which has been quoted before¹: "*He told a Spaniard that he wanted only some of their silver and gold which they got out of the earth and sent into Spain to trouble all the Earth.*"

From the following, the lengthiest speech recorded by a Spaniard (p. 357), we obtain a deep insight into Drake's character and thoughts. Realising the incongruity (and evidently also the humorous side) of his conduct, as it could but appear to his prisoners, he impulsively made the following explanation, which shows that he considered himself entirely absolved from the moral responsibility of

¹ *Western Antiquary*, 1885, vol. iv.

actions performed strictly in obedience to orders from his Queen :

" You will be saying now : This man is a devil, who robs by day and prays at night in public. This is what I do, but it is just as when King Philip gives a very large written paper to your Viceroy, Don Martin Enriquez, telling him what he is to do and how he is to govern, so the Queen, my Sovereign Lady, has ordered me to come to these parts. It is thus that I am acting, and if it is wrong it is she who knows best and I am not to be blamed for anything whatsoever."

That he spoke the truth is proved by the answer received by Mendoza from the Queen when, after Drake's return, he made representations to her on behalf of the King of Spain : it was "that the Spaniards had unjustly prohibited commerce to the English and that Drake would legally answer if anything were proved against him, the goods being to that purpose sequestered." This was followed by her Majesty's spirited protest: "...Neither might these things hinder other Princes from commerce or to transport colonies to places not inhabited by Spaniards (the law of Nations not infringed hereby, seeing prescription without possession is nothing worth) the use of the Sea and Air being exposed to all¹."

Neither Elizabeth, who had been told by Bishop Fuller that "to exact reprisals from the Spaniards would be pleasing in the sight of God," nor Drake who had been solemnly told by a "man of God" that it was lawful for him to recover his losses from the King of Spain, could feel any conscientious scruples about plundering Spanish subjects.

It was therefore only Drake's humanity that impelled him to say : *" But I do regret to possess myself of anything that does not belong exclusively to King Philip or to Don*

¹ *Purchas*, vol. xvi, p. 116.

Martin Enriquez, for it grieves me that their vassals should be paying for them."

Regarding himself as he did as a champion of his Queen, his country and Protestantism, he then asserted :

" But I am not going to stop until I have collected the two millions that my cousin John Hawkins lost, for certain, at San Juan de Ulua," he certainly never dreamt that some day his countrymen might "nickname him with the name of a corsair or pirat¹." Of course he was (and very naturally) termed such by all Spaniards. It will be noticed however that in the official charges against Drake, drawn up in Spain, contained in Part XII, the epithet does not occur.

Informed by his spies, King Philip knew too well the Queen's "complicity" in the affair and that Drake had given securities, a fact certainly not mentioned in any official report he had received from America.

It was evidently in order not to reveal his possession of secret information that he insisted that no complaint was to be presented until after Drake's return, but then it was to be brought home to the Queen herself by his Ambassador. That other crowned heads also associated the Queen with Drake in connection with the famous voyage is shown by the letter written in 1585 by Henry IV to Walsingham, through whom the King of Navarre "begs the Queen to command the '*chevalier de Drac*' to send him the collection [of charts?] and the discourse of his great voyage...²" (a request which may have indirectly led to the loss of Drake's journal). By a strange combination of circumstances, which furnishes a striking example of the ultimate,

¹ The reader is referred to the following statement by a relative of Drake's, Sir Richard Hawkins : "...the English have all licence either immediately from their prince or from others thereunto authorised and so cannot in any sense be comprehended under the name of pirats for any hostility undertaken against Spain or the dependencies thereof..." (*The Hawkins' Voyages*, Hakluyt Soc., 1878, ed. C. Markham, p. 317.)

² Harl. MSS. 376, art. 2, p. 5. British Museum.

though long deferred, triumph of truth, the strongest corroborative evidence showing that Drake carried his sovereign's authority, orders and commission, is given by no other than Thomas Doughty himself and by de Zarate and da Silva, whilst referring to the Doughty affair.

A review of their evidence should be prefaced by a few remarks offered as throwing a side-light on the origin of the Doughty mutiny. It would seem as though, in a great measure, it was the natural outcome of the extraordinary conditions created by the necessity for secrecy, and under which the voyage was begun and its members were recruited. From John Drake we learn that when the expedition "left England not two men in the fleet knew whither they were bound" (p. 36), yet we also know through John Winter that "the company was bent upon a long voyage of two years, as Drake said and as it was then supposed" (p. 387). It is of course obvious that absolute secrecy was imperative in order to ensure the success of a project combining so many different aims and interests. The system of espionage maintained by the King of Spain had enabled him to frustrate several expeditions previously planned, such as the Grenville project, by having protestations made against them by his Ambassadors. Sir James Crofts, the Controller of the Household, who later, by unscrupulous means sought to ruin Drake, was not only a secret friend of Spain, but in Spanish pay¹. By reason of his position he could naturally exert a surveillance over her Majesty's financial transactions, which would bring him into close contact with the department of the Lord Treasurer. It seems likely that it was through him that King Philip may have learnt that Drake "had deposited securities" before he left, for a receipt for this must have been made out and the sum

¹ See Corbett, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 204, and vol. ii, p. 122 *et seq.*

credited to some account. That Queen Elizabeth associated the Treasury department, if not Burleigh, with a leakage of her secret affairs, flowing towards Spain, seems clearly indicated by Drake's repeated statements that "*her Maiestie gave me speciall commandement that of all men my lord Tresurer should not knowe (the plott of the voyadge),*" or that "*hir Maiestie commandyd that of all men my lorde Tresorar should have no knowledge of this voyadge.*" He also stated that "*her Maiestie did swere by hir crowne that yf any within her realme dyd gyve the Kynge of Spayne hereof to understond (as she suspected but too [well?]) they should lose theyr heades thereof.*"

That a full knowledge of the whole plan of the voyage was not communicated to the men who enlisted may be surmised. The South Sea as a destination seems to have been openly discussed on the outward voyage (see note 4, p. 395), but probably not much more. On the outward journey religious differences arose and a part of the company was suspected by the other of inclining towards what was designated as the party composed of "friends of Spain" (see Vaux, p. 21).

At San Julian members of Drake's company to whom material interests were paramount, or who were not fitted with the requisite courage to face the impending reputed terrors of the Strait of Magellan and a continuation of the terrible storms already encountered, would naturally have felt tempted to listen to those who advocated the abandonment of the voyage.

Thomas Doughty, their leader and spokesman, remonstrated with Drake, who repeated to de Zarate the arguments used as follows:

"We have been a long while in this strait and you have placed all of us, who follow or serve you, in danger of death. It would therefore be prudent (or advisable) for you to give order that we return to the North Sea, where

we have the certainty of capturing prizes, and that we give up seeking to make new discoveries. You see how fraught with difficulties these are" (p. 208).

The man who thus advocated the abandonment of the great project which Drake was bound, under the most solemn obligations, to execute, had, during the outward voyage, been "thought to be too peremptory and exceeded his authority," "taking upon him too great a command¹."

In order to enhance his own authority he had addressed his company on the *Pelican* as follows: "...As for other matters, as the General hath his authority from her highness, the Queen's majesty and her Council such as hath not been committed almost to any subject afore this time: to punish at his discretion with death and other ways offenders, so he hath committed the same authority to me in his absence, to execute on those which are malefactors...²."

Thus, unwittingly, did Doughty furnish posterity with a proof of his own duplicity, or of that of his partisans, who concocted the narrative signed John Cooke. According to this, when Drake charged Doughty with seeking by various means to discredit him, "to the greate hinderance and overthrow of the voyage, besides other greate matters," the latter said, "Why, Generall, I hope you will see yowre comyssyon be good." "*I warrant you*," answered Drake, "*my comyssyon is good enoughe*." "I pray you, let us then see it," quoth Doughty, "it is necessary that it should be here shewed" (Vaux, p. 202). According to the Cooke narrative Drake thereupon answered: "Well, you shall not see it," and "callynge all the company with him, except Master Dowthy and his brother, opened a certayne bundle of letters" and, under the excuse of having forgotten it in

¹ Sloane MS. 61, p. 7.

² This important document was overlooked by Vaux, but brought to light and published by Mr Julian Corbett in *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, vol. i, p. 223 *et seq.*

his cabin, evaded "shewing his commyssyon yf he had any" (Vaux, p. 205). We now know that the foregoing is a malicious falsehood, for Nuño da Silva, testifying under oath in his solitary prison in Mexico, gave, of his own accord, the following description of that scene, no detail of which could have been unintelligible to him as he spoke English.

"Questioned whether the captains of the other (English) vessels also stated, like the said Francis Drake, that they came by order and command of the Queen? Da Silva answered that Francis Drake and all his men said so, and that in Abra de Islas where they wintered, when he beheaded the said English gentleman, who was named Master Doughty, the latter challenged him to show whence and by what power he could behead him, and that then the said Francis Drake assembled all his men [company], without omitting a single one. Placing himself in a more elevated position than the others, he took out some papers, kissed them, placed them on his head, and read them in a loud voice. After reading them he showed them to the others [of the company] and all saw and inspected them..." [After the execution] "...All present said that those papers were his and from her and that it was by her authority that he had executed Doughty and undertaken the voyage" (p. 379). That Doughty was given a fair trial and that "the cause was thoroughly heard and all things done in good order, as neere as might be to the course of our lawes in England" (Vaux, p. 235) is also corroborated by the evidence furnished by a Norman seaman who accompanied Drake on the voyage. He gave his liege lord, the Baron of Courtomer, a free translation into French of the narrative, entitled, "The famous voyage," etc., published by Vaux as Appendix VI. Although the Norman mariner surely was at perfect liberty to communicate to his countrymen criticisms of English methods, if such had occurred to him,

the French text¹ will be found to accentuate the perfect legality of the trial.

Moreover the editor of the French version, which appeared in 1613, wrote a eulogy of Drake which affords so interesting a knowledge as to how he stood in the estimation of his French contemporaries, that the following extract is given in translation: "...Amongst those who have had the most experience and most merit the praise of posterity, after those favourites of Neptune, Vasco de Gama, Columbus, Vespuccio and Magellan, I see none to whom a higher rank can be accorded than to the illustrious knight Sir Francis Drake, because, not only can he be equalled to them but (if I may dare to say so) he can, for good reason, be preferred."

"For the first amongst them did no more than discover and double the Cape of Good Hope, the second the Lucaya Islands, San Domingo, Cuba and a part of Mexico; the third the coast of Brazil, and the last the famous strait to which he gave his name and the South Sea. But this courageous and generous pilot accomplished singly what these four did separately and after having happily steered around the world, returned triumphantly and all laden with booty to his home. Besides these advantages he also had that of having brought back admirable riches. A prince of worth who saw him on his return to England² told me that he had made gifts to the Queen his royal mistress and to several lords of her court of a value of more than eight hundred thousand crowns (écus). Therefore the spoils of

¹ "...Son procez luy estant fait et parfait, selon les loix d'Angleterre et la qualité du crime, de l'advis de tous les principaux de navires, qui a ceste fin ont été solennellement assemblez, il l'a condamné à avoir la teste tranchée..." F. de Levencourt. *Le Voyage de l'illustre Seigneur et Chevalier Francois Drach alentour du Monde*. A Paris, chez Jean Gesselin, 1613.

² Presumably the Duke of Anjou, who visited England as a suitor of Queen Elizabeth, six months after Drake's return.

INTRODUCTION *

Jason and the famous Argonauts are not in any way comparable to his."

Such was the view that contemporary France held of Drake and his voyage. Of other countries we know that in Holland, Hondius and others recorded his exploit and that "he was held to be a brave seaman of that worthe that the Duke of Florence placed him in his gallery amongst the princes of that time." For all the world knew that his "Queen did knight him at the day as a memorable monument of his voiaiges and travells¹."

Considering that several Dutchmen accompanied Drake on his voyage, it is significant that in the Dutch text appended to the famous Hondius map of 1595, the Doughty incident is recorded as follows: "Here...at Port St Julian... Magellanicus had formerly executed some of his mutinous company. And here also (as if the Place were fatal to Mutineers) did Admiral Drake execute one of his²."

In the narrative of the Portuguese, Lopez Vaz, the statement is made "that a gentleman of Drake's company had been put to death because he would have returned home" (Vaux, p. 286).

Through Zarate's report of Drake's words already cited we know that Doughty actually advocated the abandonment of the voyage, but the English authorities agree that he went further and was convicted of "...not writings alone, but actions, tending to the overthrow of the service in hand and making away of his (Drake's) person" (Vaux, p. 64).

The danger that Drake was in is forcibly represented by the following account of the "great mischief wrought and contrived closely amongst ourselves...of grivous consequences...but which was by God's providence detected and prevented in time, which else had extended itselfe, not"

¹ Add. MS. 11600.

² Translation by Thomas Wright, *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake*. London, 1742.

only to the violent shedding of innocent blood by murdering our generall, and such others as were most firm and faithful to him, but also to the final overthrow of the whole action intended and to divers other and dangerous effects" (Vaux, p. 61).

Drake's suspicion that Doughty "intended to rise against him with the other ships and kill him" was also testified by da Silva (p. 246), and we are told that, "to his credit, "the gentleman himselfe, stricken with remorse...acknowledged himselfe to have deserved death, yea, many deathes; for that he had conspired no onely the overthrow of the action, but of the principall actor also, who was not a stranger or il-willer, but a deare and true friend unto him" (Vaux, p. 65).

It can well be understood how keenly at this juncture Drake felt what he is reported to have said: "*I have taken that in hand that I knowe not in the worlde how to goo throughe with all, it passeth my capacitie, it hathe even bereaved me of my wyttis to thinke on it*" (Vaux, p. 214). "Yet, although his private affection to Mr Doughty was great, the care he had of the state of the voyage, or the expectation of her Majestie and the honour of his countrey, did more touch him (as indeed it ought) then the private respect of one man" (Vaux, p. 235).

How deeply the honour of his country touched him is revealed by the stirring appeal he made to his company at San Julian:

"*And now, my mastars, let us consydre what we have done, we have who set together by the eares thre mighty princes, as first her Maiestie, the Kings of Spayne and Portugale, and yf this voyadge shoulde not have good successe, we should not only be a skornynge or a reproche, full scoffinge stoke unto our enemys, but also a great blott to our hole contry for evar, and what triumphe would it be to Spayne and Portugale ana agayne the lyke would nevar be attempted*" (Vaux, p. 216).

I have purposely reserved until the last the most important testimony concerning Drake's status and the Doughty affair, furnished by Don Francisco de Zarate. This nobleman spent six days in close companionship with Drake, who entertained him with the honours usually shown to prisoners of war. De Zarate had earned distinction in military service, and his letter reveals that he was not only shrewd and observant, but also of an enquiring mind. He informs the Viceroy of Mexico, however, that he is convinced that Drake was commissioned by his Queen and in support of this states that Drake "had shown him the commissions that he had received from her and carried" (p. 208 *et seq.*). There can be no doubt that de Zarate was competent to form an opinion worth having, not only upon the authenticity and contents of the documents shown him, but also upon Drake's true rank and authority. With respect to the Doughty affair de Zarate records: "All this he told me, *speaking much good about the dead man, but adding that he had not been able to act otherwise, because this was what the Queen's service demanded*" (p. 209). Coming from one whom he justly recognised as being the commander of a duly authorised expedition sent by the Queen of England, this statement was accepted by de Zarate and communicated, with his endorsement, to Drake's enemy, the Viceroy of Mexico.

If to a chance Spanish prisoner Drake's word sufficed, how much more should it be regarded as the final word on the Doughty affair by his countrymen who know that after his return his Queen not only honoured and defended but knighted him, and by ordering the *Golden Hind* to be preserved, took steps to memorialise the great achievement of which she was so justly proud. Moreover, the title-deed she bestowed on Drake, made public by Lady Elliott Drake, reads: "Whereas Sir Francis Drake, Kt., had circumnavigated the globe from East to West and had discovered

in the South part of the World many unknown places, her Majesty, to perpetuate his fame and valour, did grant unto him and his heirs all the manor of Sherford in Devonshire..." etc.

The foregoing collective evidence will be found to constitute a complete vindication of Francis Drake from the two charges, based on insufficient and defective evidence, which have been brought against him. For they prove beyond a doubt that the great voyage was undertaken under the auspices of Queen Elizabeth, that Drake carried her commission and that the execution of Doughty was rendered imperative and justifiable by circumstances.

After Drake's return to England he was approved of by Sir Francis Bacon and enjoyed not only the affection and admiration of Sir Philip Sidney, Walsingham, Howard, John Foxe, Tremayne, the friendship of the galaxy of great seamen, gentlemen and merchant adventurers, who laid the foundation of the British Empire but also that of his foes.

One of these, his prisoner, Pedro de Valdes, said of him that his "felicity and valour were so great that Mars the god of war and Neptune the god of the sea seemed to wait on all his enterprises and whose noble and generous courage had often been experienced by his enemies."

In the present volume Drake is represented as seen by his prisoners. It will be seen that without any exception all render homage to his great skill as a navigator.

In order to appreciate fully the audacity of his enterprise and the extent and import of the voyage performed, it is necessary to refer to the rare and almost unknown engraved map reproduced on Plate II¹. On this the departure of the fleet of five ships, the track of the outward

¹ A copy of this is described as a "pièce de toute rareté" by Charles Leclerc in his *Bibliothèque Américaine*, p. 50.

LA HERDIKE ENTERPRINSE FAICT PAR LE SIGNEVR DRAECK D'AVOIR CIRQVIT TOVTE LA TERRE

La vraie description du voyage du s^r françois draeck
chevalier lequel estant acompaigné de cinq navires deux
desquel il brula ung autre sen retourna et la quatre
fut peris il partit dang^r le 13 desembre 1577 passa
oultré et fit le sirquit de toute la terre et retourna audiet
royaume le 26^e septembre 1580

TERRA ART NO
VA
GROEN LAN
premierement descouvert par le siegneur draeck
saint julian 1579 fut le sig^e couronne voy
par les habitants dudict pays deux du seign^r



FAC-SIMILE OF A XVIth CENT. MAP OF DRAKE'S VOYAGE OF CIRCUMNAVIGATION, engraved by Nicola van Sype, with French descriptive texts and vignettes. An inscription beneath Drake's medallion portrait reads:—"Map seen and corrected by the said Sir Drake."
Reproduction of original preserved in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America, New York.

journey, the arrival at the mouth of the river Plate and the burning of two ships are represented. Then the departure of three ships from San Julian and the passage of the strait, to the south of which a group of islands is delineated. Of particular interest is the representation of the eastward course first taken by the ships and then the south-western one which terminates at an island, the southernmost of the "Elizabethides." From thence the track of the *Golden Hind* can be followed to the extreme north, from which she "turned back on account of the ice," and then, after exploring islands, started on the homeward voyage.

On reading the inscription stating that the map was "seen and corrected by Drake," to be seen under his medallion portrait, the question naturally presents itself, what were the "corrections" made by Drake's hand?

It seems to me to be very clear that it could only have been Drake who proudly set the crown and arms of his Queen beneath the first unoccupied portion of America which he discovered and solemnly took possession of, thus marking also the new "good route from Spain to the South Sea" he claimed to have discovered (p. 174). It was evidently also Drake who next set the crowned arms of Elizabeth over *Nova Albion*, intentionally placing them higher north than his place of landing.

It took some time before I grasped what I now believe to be the full significance of the two lines of demarcation which can be seen drawn on the North American Continent. One extends from the Gulf of California to the Mississippi river across the Continent, roughly marking the former border of the United States and Mexico. The other encloses "New France," the French possessions on the eastern coast of North America. These obviously indicate an intention to map out a "New England" embracing the entire North American Continent

north and west of the limits assigned to New Spain and New France, including a tongue of territory stretching southward, separating these and terminating in Florida.

Whose hand but that of Drake, the explorer and discoverer, could have had the audacity to set limits to the Spanish and French possessions in America, and whose mind but his could have conceived, at that early period, the thought of so vast a country colonised by people of English extraction?

It thus appears as though the present occupation of the North American Continent by the Anglo-Saxon race is, after all, but a realisation of what may be called Drake's Dream.

Wonderful as this may seem it is not more so than his unprecedented voyage during which, with one small ship, he not only encircled the world but sailed along the entire Pacific Coast of America, discovering unknown territories lying further south as well as further north of Spanish and Portuguese possessions.

In recognition of this exploit, which entitles him to be regarded as the forerunner of Antarctic and Arctic exploration, his Queen gracefully authorised him to emblazon his arms with both Pole stars. Her desire to perpetuate the memory of the voyage was frustrated by the perishable nature of the memorial she chose, and all that now remains of the *Golden Hind* are the oaken chair and table, respectively preserved at the Bodleian Library and Temple Hall.

On a hill commanding a view of the Golden Gate and the Bay of San Francisco, a stone cross commemorates the fact that Sir Francis Drake, his chaplain and company held the first Protestant service ever read in English on the Pacific Coast of America, in the region he discovered and named Nova Albion.

I

THE TESTIMONY OF
ENGLISH CAPTIVES IN AMERICA
CONCERNING DRAKE'S VOYAGE OF
CIRCUMNAVIGATION

I

THE SWORN DECLARATIONS OF CAPTAIN JOHN OXENHAM,
JOHN BUTLER AND THOMAS "XERORES," SHIP-
MASTER, ON BEING EXAMINED IN THE INQUISITION
PRISON AT LIMA, PERU, BY ORDER OF THE VICEROY
ON FEB. 20TH, 1579.

NOTE.

The romantic history and tragic end of Captain John Oxenham are so well known¹ that it suffices merely to recall here that he was from Devon and accompanied Francis Drake on his expedition to Nombre de Dios in 1572, where he was also inspired with the desire "to sail once, in an English ship, on the South Sea." Bent on doing so and giving up the hope of joining a larger expedition he fitted out a ship of 140 tons and sailed, in 1575, with a company of seventy men, for the Spanish Main. After a march across the Isthmus his party embarked in small craft on the South Sea and succeeded in capturing two Spanish treasure-ships.

¹ The authentic and somewhat conflicting historical evidence concerning John Oxenham that has hitherto been accessible has been incorporated in Sir John Knox Laughton's article in the *Dict. Nat. Biography* and in Mr Julian Corbett's *Drake and the Tudor Navy*. Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* has widely popularised Oxenham's history.

Retribution soon followed. An armed force was dispatched from Panama, which rushed the Englishmen's camp and recaptured the treasure. After severe engagements the English were hunted down and taken prisoners¹. The survivors were taken to Panama, where most of them were summarily executed as pirates. Oxenham, his ship's master, his pilot, and, as is shown further on, the latter's young brother, were taken to Lima and confined in the prison for ordinary criminals, from which they were subsequently transferred to secret cells in the Inquisition prison, to be tried for heresy. The official report, which has hitherto been published in Spanish only, supplies the exact data, hitherto lacking, concerning the imprisonment and death of John Oxenham and his companions. Entitled an "Account of the auto-da-fé of October 29, 1580²," this was sent by the Inquisitors at Lima to the Inquisitor-General of the Holy Office of the Inquisition at Seville, and reads as follows:—

"In the previous report to Your Lordship, account was given of the conclusion of the trial of John Oxenham, Englishman, the Captain of the English who, coming for the purpose of committing robberies, entered Vallano, near Nombre de Dios.

"It was voted that he was to be admitted to reconciliation [to the Catholic Church] but sentenced to perpetual captivity, which term was to be spent in His Majesty's galleys, in service at the oars without wages and with confiscation of property. He was conducted to the public auto-da-fé and his sentence was carried out.

"Your Lordship will also have received the report on the affair of Thomas Xervel, Englishman, Master of the ship in which these Englishmen came, informing you of its conclusion. It was voted that he was to be admitted to reconciliation but sentenced to perpetual captivity, with confiscation of property and to

¹ "Have you forgotten how they dealt with John Oxenham and his company, in this sea, yeelded upon composition; and how after long imprisonment and many miseries, being carried from Panama to Lyma, and there hanged with all his company, as pyrates by the justice?"—The Observations of Richard Hawkins, p. 296, in *The Hawkins' Voyages*, ed. Clements R. Markham, vol. lvii, Hakluyt Society.

² Preserved at Simancas and quoted by J. T. Medina in his valuable *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio di Lima*, 1887, vol. i, p. 156.

ten years of service, without wages, in the galleys. After ten years he was to be confined somewhere in this city, in the locality designated to him. He appeared in the public auto-da-fé and his sentence was carried out¹.

"Your Lordship was also informed that in the affair of John Butler, Englishman, the pilot of said English ship, it had been voted (after having examined him under torture concerning the intention, which he denied and as under this he confessed nothing new) that he be taken out in the public auto-da-fé, as a penitent; that he abjure *de vehementi* and be absolved from the major excommunication which he had incurred; and that he serve in the galleys of His Majesty for six years, at the oars, without wages. The said John Butler was taken out in the public auto-da-fé and that which was voted was executed. It has already been communicated to Your Lordship how these three Englishmen (and another, a youth, who is a brother of the said John Butler) had been brought by us to these prisons from the Royal prison whither they had been taken by those who had brought them from Vallano.

"We therefore returned them to the same Royal prison where, after they had been there for a few days, the Criminal Magistrates passed a sentence upon them and the said John Oxenham, Thomas Xervel and John Butler were hanged. The said youth who calls himself Henry Butler was sentenced by the magistrates to perpetual service in the galleys.

"We did nothing with this youth beyond keeping him in the prisons until the others were liberated, for the reasons that we gave to Your Lordship in the preceding report."

This official document establishes, beyond a doubt, not only that Oxenham and his companions were in the Inquisition prison at Lima when Francis Drake entered the port of Callao on Feb. 13, 1579, but that they were not executed by the civil authorities until several days after they had figured in the auto-da-fé of Oct. 29, 1580.

¹ I have not succeeded in satisfactorily identifying the ship-master and artilleryman who shared John Oxenham's fate and whose name is recorded in the Spanish documents as "Tomas 'Xervel' 'Xeruel' or 'Xerores'." Whatever his real name was he was frank and fearless and courted death when he bluntly informed the Inquisitors that he had accompanied Drake "when they robbed the mule train on the road to Nombre de Dios."

When and where Francis Drake learnt of the capture and imprisonment of his old comrades is not definitely recorded, but we know through Francis Fletcher that at Lima he obtained (presumably from men on the Spanish vessels he had seized) not only news from Europe but also details about the execution and imprisonment of Protestants by the Inquisition at Lima¹.

From John Drake we learn how, then and there, Francis Drake made a gallant but ineffectual attempt to force the release of his captive friends, by cutting the cables and hawsers of the two large vessels in port².

That he had positive information that his old comrades were actually imprisoned in Lima is proven by the fact that about a fortnight later, on releasing Captain San Juan de Anton, Drake charged him to beg the Viceroy of Peru not to kill Oxenham and his companions, backing his petition with a solemn threat, after discussing with great solicitude the possible fate of his countrymen. (See pp. 161, 173 and 179.)

A month later Don Francisco de Zarate, on his release, was, in turn, entrusted with a message for "Englishmen living in Lima." Whether these were the prisoners or other Englishmen we know not, but it is certain that in July, 1579, John Butler, at least, on being summoned to translate the safe-conduct, learnt that Francis Drake had not only entered the South Sea, but had been in the vicinity of Peru and was on his return voyage to England.

It was on February 20th, 1579, exactly a week after Drake had entered Callao, that his former companions were examined by an official sent to their prison by the Viceroy for the main object of ascertaining whether they were skilled in the manufacture of heavy artillery, of which he had pressing need.

¹ "Here we heard the report of some things that had befallen in and neere Europe since our departure thence; in particular of the death of some great personages, as the king of Portugall, and both the kings of Morocco and Fez, dead all three in one day at one battell; the king of France and the Pope of Rome...."

"In this city of Lima, not two moneths before our coming thither, there were certaine persons, to the number of twelve, apprehended, examined and condemned for the profession of the Gospel...of which twelve, sixe were bound to one stake and burnt, the rest remained yet in prison, to drinke of the same cup within a few dayes." *World Encompassed*, pp. 108-10.

² See p. 47.

Their joint declarations about Francis Drake, obtained almost incidentally, constitute a *pièce justificative* of utmost value, for they reveal not only the existence at that time, in England, of a deeply rooted and growing movement towards colonial expansion, but also evidence that Francis Drake, one of the most ardent advocates of this policy, could not possibly, and would not, have set out on a voyage, the avowed purpose of which was a search for unoccupied, "good lands," without the sanction and aid of his queen.

THE DECLARATIONS THAT WERE MADE BY CAPTAIN JOHN OXENHAM AND OTHER ENGLISHMEN WHO ARE PRISONERS IN THE HOLY OFFICE OF THIS CITY OF LOS REYES, AND ARE OF THOSE WHO WERE CAPTURED IN THE MOUNTAINS OF TIERRA FIRMA¹, ABOUT WHAT THEY KNOW CONCERNING THE EXPLORATION OF THE STRAIT OF MAGELLAN².

In the City of Los Reyes, on the 20th day of the month of February, of the year 1579, the Inquisitors, the licentiates Cerezuela and Ulloa, during their morning session, sent an order to Juan Gutierrez de Ulloa, the Chief Clerk of this Holy Office, to appear before them. When present, he was told that His Excellency (the Viceroy) had sent a letter to this Holy Office, ordering that the Chief Clerk was to examine the Englishmen who were imprisoned. In compliance with this order, the said Inquisitors ordered that John Butler, who also calls himself Chalona, be brought from the said prison. His oath was taken in due form, according to which he promised to declare the truth.

Questioned whether he knew how to manufacture artillery, or had seen it made, or whether any of his

¹ This province of Tierra Firma, also called Golden Castile, which the English designated the Spanish Main, extended from the Isthmus of Panama southwards and comprised the present Venezuela.

² *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla, E. I. C. I. L. 41, No. 22.

companions knew how to do so, or to make other fireworks such as are used in the defence of towns, he answered that neither he nor any of his companions knew how to manufacture artillery, nor had he seen it made, but he knew very well how to make the devices which were attached to arrows, pikes and lances in order to set fire to the sails of ships and to the ships themselves. He also knew how to make "fire-wings" with nails which caught in the woodwork and set fire to vessels. All these are much used in England to defend ships and burn others.

On being questioned, he stated that he had made them several times, and had seen them made more than a thousand times, for every ship carried them.

On being questioned he said that the necessary ingredients for making the said projectiles are powder, oil, pitch and sulphur; and that in order to make them very effective, camphor and spirits were added.

Asked how these ingredients were used, he said that, after making the said mixture into a paste, some of it is put on the point of the said pike or arrow, leaving a touch-hole in which dry powder was poured. They lighted this and shot the arrows, or thrust with the pikes, on approaching near to the enemy's ship. The same paste was used with balls made of hemp, studded with nails, the points of which stuck outwards. In order to transport these, they were covered with pitch. When about to be thrown by hand they were lighted at the touch-hole.

Questioned whether he had heard or understood, while in England, or since he left there, that Queen Elizabeth of England was entertaining or carrying out the project of fitting out a number of vessels which were to come to found settlements on the coast of the North and South Seas, he said that he had not heard or understood more about this than that a gentleman named Grenville, who is a knight, had applied to the said Queen for a licence to come

and found settlements, but not in lands belonging to King Philip, for the Queen did not wish to give a licence for that, as treaties of peace had then been made. The said gentleman had asked for a licence to settle on the River Plate towards the Strait of Magellan. For this purpose he had bought four vessels, and John Oxenham who is here, in prison, had agreed to go with him. But as the Queen did not give them the licence, they sold the ships.

Questioned whether they had planned to found settlements on the coast of the North Sea, or to pass through the Strait of Magellan and populate the coast of the South Sea, he answered that he had heard it said that it was to be on the coast of the North Sea, towards the River Plate, in a country of which they had reports, from some Portuguese, that it was very rich. The Queen had demanded that they were to give a security of thirty to forty thousand pounds that they would not touch lands belonging to King Philip, and on this account the expedition was frustrated, as aforesaid.

Questioned whether he had information or knew whether, in England, there were men who had entered the Strait of Magellan, and whether they were able to pass out of the Strait as well as enter it, he answered that, when he left England, there was no man in England who had passed the equinoctial line towards the south or was planning to come, although they have there the description of Magellan's navigation and of all these Indies, and they look into these matters, and discuss them. He does not know whether one can return through the Strait, but he thinks that, as it lies not so very far south, one could return through it, just as well as one can enter it, at certain seasons of the year. It is a well known thing that, if one did not return through the Strait, one would be obliged to make the round voyage by the Portuguese Indies, the Cape of Good Hope, and the coast of Africa, and return to

the Canaries. He said that he knew that no company of armed vessels can come to the Indies without a licence from the Queen, and that it is customary for the Lord Admiral to give licences for single ships, for which he receives payment.

Questioned whether he knows the Captain Francis Drake¹, he said, "Yes, that he knew him, that he was from Plymouth in England."

Questioned whether he had understood or known that the said Captain Francis Drake had agreed with Captain John Oxenham to come and explore the Strait of Magellan or any other seas, and to pass into the South Sea, he answered that he did not know about this and that the said Captain Francis Drake was a poor man who did not have the means for doing this, for he owns nothing more than what he had taken in the Indies, and all this he had spent on certain islands over there towards Ireland². Only a man having great power could possibly come here.

As it was late the examination ceased, and the prisoner was sent back to his prison.

This took place before me,

EUSEBIO DE ARRIETA. Secretary

On this day, the 20th of February, of the said year, the said Inquisitors ordered that Captain John Oxenham be brought from the said prison, and in the presence of the said Chief Clerk he took the oath in due form, and promised to speak the truth.

¹ In the Spanish original, Drake's name appears, not only as "Drac" but as "Draquez" and, a number of times, as "Diaz"!

² In his article entitled "Facts not generally known about Francis Drake and Francis Russell," published in the *Western Antiquary* (vol. v, 1885, p. 27), H. H. Drake, LL.D., states that the secret cause of Francis Drake's devoting the first wealth he had acquired to fitting out three ships for the public service in Ireland was that "his god-father, Francis Russell, and his quasi-father, Edmund Tremayne," both members of Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council, were at that time employed to quell the rebellion there.

Questioned whether he, or any of his companions who are imprisoned here, know how to manufacture heavy artillery, he answered that neither he nor any of his companions know how to do so, nor did he know how to make any kind of fireworks.

Questioned whether, while in England or since he had left there he had heard or understood that Queen Elizabeth or any other person had entertained the project to arm a certain number of vessels for the purpose of establishing settlements, or for other purposes, on the coast of the North Sea, or in the region of the Strait of Magellan or on the coast of the South Sea, he answered that four years ago an English knight named Richard Grenville, who lives at a distance of a league and a half from Plymouth, and is very rich, applied to the Queen for a licence to come to the Strait of Magellan and to pass to the South Sea, in order to search for land or some islands where to found settlements, because, in England, there are many inhabitants and but little land¹. The Queen gave him the licence and witness saw it. It was very large². The said Grenville bought two ships, and was about to buy two or three more, when the Queen revoked the licence, because she had learnt that beyond the Strait of Magellan there were settlements made by Spaniards, who might do them harm. The said Grenville sold the ships, after the licence had been taken from him. Previously to that, he had spoken many times with witness, trying to persuade him to accompany him, but witness did not wish to do so. Grenville's project was to come and found a

¹ "...para venir al estrecho de Magallanes y pasar a la mar del sur y buscar tierra donde poblar o algunas yslas porque en ynglaterra ay mucha gente y poca tierra...."

² "...y la reina le dio licencia y este confesante la vió, que era muy grande." As the latter word also means "grandeur, magnificence" it is possible that it was used by Oxenham to describe the licence as a "magnificent" document.

settlement on the River Plate and then pass the Strait and establish settlements wherever a good country for such could be found¹. Witness thinks that if the Queen were to give a licence to Captain Francis Drake he would certainly come and pass through the Strait, because he is a very good mariner and pilot, and there is no better one than he in England who could accomplish this. Witness thinks that the Queen will not, as long as she lives, grant the licence, but that, after the Queen's death, there will certainly be someone who will come to the Strait. The said Captain Francis had often spoken to witness saying that if the Queen would grant him the licence he would pass through the Strait of Magellan and found settlements over here in some good country².

Questioned with how many ships it would be possible for Francis Drake to come to the Strait he answered that with the aid of his relatives and companions he might be able to bring two or three vessels but that, after discovering a good country, they would be able to come with more ships. Witness said that Captain Francis discussed this subject with him³.

Questioned whether they had discussed how, and by what route, they were to return to England after having passed through the Strait, he said that it seemed to him that some said that it was to be by the same Strait, but others said that there was a route through another Strait that passed into the North Sea, but nobody knows this for a certainty or has passed through it.

¹ " ...lo que tratava el granfil hera que viniesen a poblar cerca del estrecho en el rrio de la plata y despues pasarian al estrecho y poblarian donde hallasen buena tierra para poblar...."

² "...el dicho capitan francisco hablo muchas veces con este que declara que si la rreina le diese licencia que vendria a pasar el estrecho de magallanes y poblar por aca en alguna buena tierra...."

³ "que podria traer dos o tres navios con ayuda de sus parientes e compañeros, que en descubriendo buena tierra podrian venir con mas navios y que el capitan francisco trato esto con este que declara."

With this the examination ceased and the prisoner was sent back to his cell.

Before me, EUSEBIO DE ARRIETA. Secretary.

And then, forthwith, the said Inquisitors, in the presence of the said Chief Clerk, gave orders to bring from the said prison Thomas Xerores, shipmaster, who, when present, took his oath in due form, and promised to declare the truth.

Questioned whether he or any of his companions knew how to manufacture artillery, he answered No, but that being an artilleryman he knew how to shoot it. He does not know how to make firework projectiles and does not know whether John Butler, who is also known by the name of *Chalona*, knows anything about this. If so, it must be but little.

Questioned whether when in England, or since he left there, he had heard or understood that Queen Elizabeth or any other person had planned to arm some ships to come and occupy land on the coasts of the North Sea, towards the Strait of Magellan or in the South Sea, he answered that four years ago a gentleman named Grenville bought two vessels, and thought of buying four more, in order to come and pass through the Strait of Magellan and take possession of some land where King Philip had no settlements. The Queen did not wish him to come for fear that he might do harm in the possessions of her brother King Philip. Witness understands that if the Queen should die, many will come and pass through the Strait and found settlements. The Queen is the cause that no one comes. England is so full of people that there are many who wish to go to other parts¹.

¹ " ...este que declara entendio que si la rreina muere an de venir muchos a pasar el estrecho y a poblar e que la reina es causa de que ninguno venga e que la tierra [de Inglaterra] esta tan llena de gente que ay muchos que quieren yr a otras partes...."

Questioned whether he knows Captain Francis Drake and whether he had heard it said that the said Captain Francis wished to come here through the Strait of Magellan, he answered Yes, he knew him, and had accompanied him on the voyage when they robbed the mule-train on the road to Nombre de Dios. Witness has not heard it mentioned that the said Captain Francis Drake had wished to come to the Strait, but he has heard it said that if the Queen should die, Francis Drake would come, because the Lord Admiral has a great affection for him.

With this the examination ceased, and order was given that the prisoner be conducted to his cell.

Before me, EUSEBIO DE ARRIETA. Secretary.

I, Alvaro Ruiz de Navamuel, His Majesty's Clerk of Court, in his Royal Audiencia and Chancery, resident of this City of Los Reyes, in the Kingdom of Peru, by order of the Most Excellent Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, have had this copy made from the originals of the said declarations, with which it was collated and corrected, in the said City of Los Reyes, on the twenty-eighth day of the month of March 1580. As witnesses of said corrections, the following residents of this City were present:

Gaspar de Carranza, Francisco Lucero
and Juan Martinez.

I made my sign here [sign] in testimony of truth.

(Signed.) ALVARO RUIZ DE NAVAMUEL.

2

EXAMINATION OF JOHN BUTLER IN THE PRISON OF THE
INQUISITION IN THE CITY OF LOS REYES (LIMA)
CONCERNING THE SAFE-CONDUCT GIVEN BY FRANCIS
DRAKE TO SAN JUAN DE ANTON. JULY 7TH, 1579¹.

NOTE.

The circumstances under which Drake gave "safe-conducts" to San Juan de Anton and de Parraces are fully described on pp. 160 and 188, and from Nuño da Silva we learn that a similar document was given to Don Francisco de Zarate. John Butler's translation of this remarkable document will be found to have great interest and value.

In the first case it reveals what an excellent Spanish scholar Butler the pilot was, and how well he was acquainted with the forms of Castilian courtesy, for he actually makes Drake, in his letter to Winter, address him as "Your Honour"²! What is more, a careful study of Butler's translation reveals that in the "copy" of the original, published by Hakluyt³, there exists a slight

¹ *Archivo de Simancas*. Inquisicion. Peru. This examination took place four months and three weeks after Drake's entry into the port of Callao.

² "Vuestra Merced," *lit.* Your Mercy.

³ "Copie of a letter written by Sir Francis Drake: 'Master Winter if it pleaseth God that you should chance to meete with this ship of Sant John de Anton, I pray you use him well, according to my word and promise giuen unto them, and if you want anything that is in this ship of Sant John de Anton, I pray you pay them double the value for it, which I will satisfie againe, and command your men not to doe her any hurt: and what composition or agreement we haue made, at my returne into England I will by Gods helpe perfourme, although I am in doubt that this letter will neuer come to your hands: and notwithstanding I am the man I haue promised to be: Beseeching God, the Sauour of all the world, to haue us in his keeping, to whom only I giue all honour, praise and glory.'

'What I haue written, is not only to you M. Winter, but also to M. Thomas, M. Charles, M. Caube, and M. Anthonie, with all our other good friendes, whom I commit to the tuition of him that with his blood redeemed us, and am in good hope, that we shal be in no more trouble, but that he will helpe us in aduersitie, desiring you for the Passion of Christ, if you fall into any danger, that you will not despaire of Gods mercy, for hee will defend and preserue you from all danger, and bring

typographical error which entirely alters the sense of the most important statement made by Drake in this document.

This error, contained in the following sentence, wrongly causes it to appear to refer to Drake's preceding request to Winter to pay to de Anton double the value of any merchandise he might require from the cargo of his ship: ... "what composition or agreement we have made, *at* my returne into England I will by God's helpe perfourme."

Enlightened by Butler's translation in which the corresponding passage reads: "What we determined *about the return to our country* will be carried out if God wills," it becomes clear that if, in the Hakluyt sentence, we interpret *at* as *a'*, an abbreviation of *about*, and read the latter word, the phrase not only agrees with Butler's version but also explains Drake's words: "we have made," which, if intended to be a reference to transactions between Winter and de Anton, should read: "you may make." When it is recognised that the Hakluyt sentence had originally expressed Drake's determination to abide by the pre-arranged plan of the return voyage the meaning of the remainder of the sentence becomes clear.

Drake's next words as recorded by Hakluyt: "although I am in doubt that this letter will never come to your hands: and notwithstanding I am the man I promised to be," are seen to signify that although he doubted whether his companions were following him, their loss would not cause him to break the promise he had given, the obligation he had assumed. Butler did not attempt to translate literally the phrase "I am the man I promised to be," which would have sounded so strangely in Spanish, but he faithfully interpreted Drake's meaning by the words "I abide, as God knows."

Butler's task to translate Drake's pious but "heretical" exhortations to expectant Inquisitors was a difficult one, but he performed it adroitly and evidently recognised a scriptural quotation from one of the Prophets in one of Drake's utterances.

us to our desired hauen, to whom bee all honour, glory and praise for euer and euer. Amen. Your sorrowfull Captaine, whose heart is heauy for you. FRANCIS DRAKE." Vol. xi, p. 147. The references to Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* in this volume are to the edition of Messrs Maclehose, Glasgow, 12 vols., 1903-5, a portion of which edition was issued to members of the Hakluyt Society.

His absolutely clear translation, however, of Drake's direct statement that he would carry out his agreement about the return voyage to England, definitely proves that when Drake composed his letter it was for a far deeper and greater purpose than that of reassuring de Zarate and de Anton and informing Winter that he would reimburse the surplus expense of any paltry dealings in merchandise that he might make.

Three Spaniards record, as will be seen in their testimonies¹, his great anxiety to communicate through them with any of his countrymen whom they might meet, for having been told that two English ships had been seen off the coast he could not be entirely certain that the report was a false one. When one considers the fact that Drake was about to sail into the Unknown with a single ship one can readily understand what an imperative wish he must have felt at least to send news of his own safety and firm determination to carry out the original plan of the voyage. Had he and his diminished company perished in their great venture, this heroic assurance of Drake's would have been their farewell message and final record. It was an ingenious plan that Drake cleverly devised for its transmission and preservation. By impressing upon the Spaniards the favour he was conferring upon them by providing them with a document which would guarantee great material advantages for them, he insured the safe-keeping of his letter and the probability that sooner or later it would meet the eye of some countryman of his.

The Spanish officials, duly impressed by the importance Drake sought to impart to his issuing of a safe-conduct, suspected that the latter was intended to serve some ulterior purpose and actually did what Drake hoped for, namely, showed it to his countryman, Butler, for him to translate. A copy of the following document was speedily transmitted to Mexico, and there the Inquisitors subjected Nuño da Silva to an examination concerning the subject, the official record of which is published further on, p. 377, and furnishes interesting details.

SAFE-CONDUCT GIVEN BY FRANCIS DRAKE, ENGLISHMAN,
TO SAN JUAN DE ANTON.

In the City of Los Reyes, on the seventh day of the

¹ De Anton, p. 160, De Parraces, p. 188, De Zarate, p. 206.

month of July, 1579, while the Inquisitors, the licentiate Cerezuela and Ulloa, were holding their morning audience, they had brought from the said prison John Butler, who calls himself by the other name of *Salona*.

When present they received his oath in due form, under which he promised to speak the truth and interpret and explain a letter in the English tongue, that was shown him. He was to interpret this truthfully, in the Castilian tongue, as best he could and according to the understanding that Our Lord would give him. A letter in English being shown him he was told to translate it upon his oath. He stated that in the two short lines it says: "Safe-conduct. On board the ship named the Golden Hind on the sixth of March 1579." The letter follows:—

"Mr Winter. If it please God that by a favourable chance Your Honour should meet Sant Juan de Anton, I pray you to treat him well, in accordance to the word I have given him. If Your Honour should be lacking in any of the things that Sant Juan de Anton carries, pay him double their value in the merchandise that Your Honour carries. Give orders that none of your soldiers are to do him harm or wound him. What we determined about the return to our country will be carried out if God so wills¹, although I greatly doubt whether this letter will reach your hands, I abide as God knows, constantly praying to the Lord who holds you and me and all the world in His keeping to save or to damn. I give him thanks always. Amen."

"This my writing is not only for Winter but also for Mr Thomas, Mr Arle [Charles] and Mr Coube [Caube] and Mr Anthony and all the other good friends whom I commend to Him who redeemed us with His Blood. I have faith in God that he will not inflict more toils upon us but

¹ "La determinacion que en nosotros quedó para volver a nuestra tierra se cumplira, Dios queriendo."

will help us in our tribulations. I beseech you for the love of Jesus Christ, that if God permits you to suffer afflictions you do not despair of the great Mercy of God, for the great Prophet says that the Lord grants and gives new life¹. May God thus have mercy and show his compassion—to Him be glory, honor, power and empire [kingdom], for ever and ever, amen, amen.

“I, the mournful captain whose heart is very heavy for you,

“FRANCIS DRAKE.”

Questioned whether he is personally acquainted with, or knows who this person is who is named Winter and the others mentioned in the second paragraph, to whom this safe-conduct is addressed, he said that he has known four brothers of the name of Winter and that they are important persons and among the chief captains² of the Queen's fleet. The one mentioned is named William³ Winter and he is the youngest. He has been a corsair for many years, and is a man of about 30 years, of the same age as Francis Drake, by whom evidently this safe-conduct is signed. Francis Drake is a citizen of Plymouth and a nephew of John Hawkins. The said brothers of William Winter are very great people and never go forth excepting as captain-generals of the Queen's fleet. They own many properties⁴. As to the others mentioned, deponent does not know them personally, but the names are those of gentlemen of birth.

With this the audience closed.

¹ “...no desespereis de la gran misericordia de Dios que el gran propheta dice que el Señor aguarda y torna otra vez a dar vida.”

² “...gente principal y capitanes principales....”

³ John Butler makes a mistake in the Christian name of the Winter addressed, who was John, not William.

⁴ George Winter, the father of John, had in 1571 bought the manor of Dyrham in Gloucestershire. Sir William Winter, his uncle (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*) had also bought considerable properties in the same county.

A certified copy of the foregoing was made in Mexico on May 16, 1580, from a plain copy which Luis Nuñez Perez, treasurer of the Crusade to this New Spain said that he had received from the treasurer of the Crusade to Peru¹

3

FIRST ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF CIRCUMNAVIGATION
GIVEN BY JOHN DRAKE, COUSIN OF CAPTAIN FRANCIS
DRAKE, ON BEING EXAMINED BY ALONSO VERA Y
ARAGON, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER JUAN PEREZ,
IN THE CITY OF SANTA FÉ, PROVINCE OF THE RIVER
PLATE, MARCH 24TH, 1584².

NOTE.

John Drake, according to his own testimony, recorded in the document preserved in Seville, from which the Second Account of the Voyage of Circumnavigation, which follows this, is extracted, was the orphan son of Robert Drake, an uncle of Francis Drake. When he reached the age of ten he went to live with his cousin, who was greatly his senior, and served him as a page, accompanying him also to Ireland. At the age of fourteen or fifteen he sailed with Francis Drake on his famous voyage. It was John Drake who earned the gold chain offered as a prize for him who should first espy the treasure-ship named "Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion," or the "Nao Rica" in the Spanish documents. We incidentally learn through him that it was "at a distance of three leagues" that he first discerned her (see p. 48).

¹ The term "Holy Crusade" was given to special Missions which were sent from Spain to its colonies and were associated with the sale of indulgences to the Indians.

² Extract from the notarial copy of the "declarations made on March 24, 1584, by some Englishmen in Santa Fé, province of the River Plate, about the voyage that the Corsair John Drake [*sic*] made to the Strait of Magellan." *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 2, C. 5, L. 2—21.

A copy of this document is referred to as existing in the *Col. Navarrete*, tomo xxvi, No. 18, by Fernandez Duro, *Armada Española*, vol. ii, p. 508. A transcription of this and its translation into English, without commentary, were published by Lady Elliott Drake, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, Appendices I and II.

John Drake appears to have been a remarkably intelligent and talented lad. Nuño da Silva states that "he was a great painter¹" and that whenever he was with Francis Drake, in the latter's cabin, "they were always painting." It was probably due to his industry in this line that Francis Drake's copy of Foxe's Book of Martyrs which was seen by his Spanish prisoners at Guatulco, was then full of "coloured illustrations." A pleasing picture, which reveals how congenial their companionship must have been, is conveyed by the observant Portuguese pilot's testimony given above.

John Drake states that some months after his return to England from the voyage of circumnavigation he had met a "gentleman of the sea², who was planning a voyage to China in order to establish a factory there." The terms he offered John Drake not being acceptable, the latter refused to join him. Then Edward Fenton planned his expedition, but as he had "no experience in matters concerning the sea" the merchants involved requested the Council and they, in turn, "requested Captain Francis Drake to give Fenton some of those persons who had accompanied him on his voyage of circumnavigation."

Thereupon Francis Drake "gave him his shipmaster, named Thomas Gult³; his boatswain, named Thomas Blackcollar; and John Drake. A nephew of John Hawkins, named William Hawkins, who had also been on the voyage of circumnavigation, volunteered to join the ill-fated expedition⁴." It sailed from

¹ "era gran pintor."

² "un cavallero de mar."

³ The Spanish rendering of the name conveys the sound of the surname of Thomas Hord which figures as No. 7 on the list of Drake's men in the document which is reproduced on Pl. XVI. Thomas "Blacollers" also appears in the same list, as well as a John Blacoller.

⁴ "...el capitan francisco les dio el maestro de su navio...y al contramaestre...y a este confesante. Y tambien se ofrecio, de su voluntad, venir en el dicho viaje, un sobrino de Juan aquines, llamado guillen aquines...." The foregoing Spanish text has been misinterpreted and mistranslated as meaning that John Drake, like William Hawkins, had *volunteered* to join the expedition. According to the Rev. H. H. Drake the principal members of the Fenton Expedition were: Admiral-General, Captain Edward Fenton; Lieutenant-General, William Hawkins jun.; Master, Christopher Hall; Vice-Admiral, Luke Ward; Captain, John Drake; Master, William Markham; Captain, Thomas Skevington (see "Further notes on John Drake and his descendants," *Western Antiquary*, vol. viii, May, 1880).

Plymouth early in June, 1582, John Drake being in command of a bark of 40 tons, belonging to Francis Drake and bearing his name "Francis." The failure of the voyage, disastrous to the reputation of Fenton, was not due either to Hawkins or John Drake, who both protested against its abandonment on the coast of Brazil. John Drake determined, with his crew, consisting of seventeen men and a boy, to enter the River Plate in order to obtain the provisions necessary for the continuation of the voyage, but during this venture his bark ran against a sunken rock and was wrecked. All lives were saved as well as some firearms by means of the boat, but all else was lost and, with drenched clothing, the shipwrecked men landed and made a fire, wherewith to dry themselves. This attracted, however, about a hundred Indians who, at first, seemed friendly enough and guided them inland, but afterwards began to despoil the Englishmen. A fight ensued, in which two of the Englishmen were killed and all the rest wounded. These managed to reach their boat but were followed by the Indians who took them captive, burned the boat and killed two Englishmen who were badly wounded. For thirteen months John Drake and his companions remained in captivity with these Indians suffering hardships and indignities. Five died and four (amongst them John Drake) finally escaped and, after a series of adventures, reached the vicinity of Buenos Ayres. "...And one of the Indians went to the Towne and told them of the Englishmen; so the Captayne¹ sent foure Horsemen, which brought them to the Towne behind them, then the Captayne clothed them and provided for them lodging and John Drake sate at the Captayne's Table and so intreated them very well, thinking to send them for Spaine²."

John Drake's relationship to Francis Drake, which he had prudently and successfully concealed until then, was revealed by a man who is described in several Spanish official documents as an Englishman who had settled and married a native of the village of Asuncion in Paraguay and was living under what was probably the assumed name of Juan Perez. Once his identity

¹ Captain Alonso de Vera y Aragon, before whom John Drake made the following declaration.

² Hakluyt, xi, 95.



was established as a cousin of "Captain Francis," and a member of the Fenton expedition, it was but natural that he should be treated with increased severity.

After subjecting him to the examination of which the following is an extract, Captain Alonso de Vera took him and his two companions to the town of Asuncion. There they found General Juan de Torres and an ecclesiastic, who administered spiritual matters in the absence of the Bishop. After having ordered that no one was to speak to the prisoners until he had done so, he examined them about the articles of faith and asked them whether they believed in the teachings of the Catholic Church. John Drake answered that he did, and the church dignitary authorised him to hear mass "although the inhabitants of the town demanded that he should not be allowed to do so, because he had come with Captain Francis."

It may have been partly to insure their personal safety that John Drake and Richard Fairweather were then confined in an isolated hermitage for more than a year, during which time they were compelled to hold no communication with any one but the hermit, a native of Segovia, named Juan de Espinosa, and an Englishman named Juan de Rute. The latter, who "served the hermitage," had been one of the Conquerors of Paraguay; had been absent from his country for forty years and had forgotten his native tongue. The following report concerning John Drake, which was sent by the Inquisitors at Lima to the General Council of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Spain and is now at Simancas¹, completes his narrative.

"From Asuncion in Paraguay, the prisoner and his companions were brought by land to a seaport named Arica, which is 230 leagues distant from here. From Arica they came by sea to the port of this country. The distance from Buenos Ayres to this place, on foot, would be 800 leagues.

"The first time he was brought before the tribunal he confessed that he had communicated and confessed according to the mode of Protestants in England. Including this first one, five sessions were held in this case, during which he gave an account of the voyage made by Captain Francis when he entered

¹ Expediente de vista de Ruiz de Prado, No. 981, quoted by J. T. Medina in his *Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion en el Rio de la Plata*, p. 118.

the South Sea and another of the voyage in which he was wrecked. After one of the sessions and in a subsequent one, before the first admonition was pronounced, he confessed that he had been a Lutheran. He appeared to be a sincere contrite and good hope of his conversion was entertained. In his affair it was voted that the prisoner was to appear in the public auto-da-fé [on Nov. 30, 1589] and be admitted to reconciliation in the usual form. The habit was to be worn for three years, during which period he was to be confined in a monastery. He was not to leave these realms or those of Spain as long as he lived and his property was to be confiscated.

"He went forth in the auto-da-fé wearing the insignia of the reconciled and the habit of those sentenced to wear it for three years and he was immured in a monastery with the warning not to depart from the Indies under pain of incurring punishment as a relapsed heretic."

In another manuscript, also preserved at Simancas, it is recorded that "John Drake, Englishman, a cousin of Francis Drake, aged 22 years, had said that he was greatly grieved at having been a Lutheran¹."

The fact that in his will written in August, 1595, Francis Drake makes no mention of his young kinsman, seems to prove that he believed that he was dead. Lady Elliott Drake in her recently published valuable work² states that the last mention of John Drake and Richard Fairweather³ is in a Spanish letter dated Oct. 5, 1595, in which their cases are quoted by the Supreme

¹ Quoted by J. T. Medina in his valuable *Historia del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion de Lima*, vol. i, p. 254.

² *The Family and heirs of Sir Francis Drake*, 1912, vol. i, pp. 87 and 88. See also Sir John Knox Laughton's article in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

³ In the Spanish documents Richard Fairweather's surname is recorded as Ferruel or Fervel. It is also stated that he employed the name "Bonanza" which, in Spanish, signifies: "fair weather at sea" or "prosperity"; "Bonanza" was therefore a translation of his English surname. To the Inquisitors at Lima "he confessed that in his heart he had always been a Catholic although he had subsequently departed from this faith." As he also gave "signs of repentance and contrition," he went forth with the insignia of the reconciled, wearing the habit, and was sentenced to perpetual confinement but to only four years of galleys, without wages (see J. T. Medina, *Historia del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion de Lima*, vol. i, p. 254).

Council as affording a precedent to be followed in the case of Richard Hawkins and his fellow prisoners. I have recently, however, come across a tantalisingly brief record which scarcely admits a satisfactory interpretation, but appears to throw light on John Drake's later life-history.

In the official description of the auto-da-fé held in December, 1650, in the Church of Santo Domingo at Cartagena, the capital of the Spanish Main, the name of John Drake is given as that of one of the penitents. He had been denounced to the Dominican fathers because "being a Lutheran, he frequented the Holy Sacraments." After performing public penance in the auto-da-fé, he was "absolved with a caution" and admitted to reconciliation with the Church of Rome¹. In 1650 John Drake, the cousin of Francis Drake, would have been an octogenarian, a fact which might explain the otherwise unaccountable leniency of the sentence imposed for so grave a sacrilege. If this penitent was not our John Drake grown too aged and feeble in body and mind to have his transgressions taken seriously by the Inquisitors, was the penitent a son of his, born of a Spanish marriage? If so, how could he be referred to as "being a Lutheran"? And how to account, in his case, or in that of a more recently arrived kinsman and namesake, for the unique clemency shown? Whatever the truth may be it is a fact which cannot but awaken deep interest, that sixty-five years after Drake's cousin figured in an auto-da-fé at Lima, a "Lutheran" namesake of his was living on the Spanish Main, the scene of many an English raid, whither ships sailed regularly from Lima, transporting the gold and silver destined for Spain. There, if anywhere in America, at that time, there was a remote chance of liberation or escape and this may account for the fact that in 1652 "an English tailor, named Anthony," also lived at Cartagena.—*op. et loc. cit.*

¹ "Juan Drake....Siendo luterano frecuentaba los sacramentos.... Fue absuelto *ad cautelam* y reconciliado...." J. T. Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion de Cartagena de las Indias*, 1899, cap. X, p. 270.

EXTRACT FROM THE DECLARATIONS OF JOHN DRAKE,
MARCH 24TH, 1584.

...Asked to declare...whither he had gone on the first voyage he made from England, he said that his name was John Drake and that he was a nephew¹ of Captain Francis Drake. He does not remember on what day he sailed with his uncle, but it was about seven years ago—a little more or less. They left the port of Plymouth which is about a hundred leagues from London, with five ships, their captain's vessel being of 120 tons. In all the fleet there were not more than 160 soldiers. They had a good supply of ammunition, provisions and artillery. The captain's ship carried 18 pieces; the Admiral's ship 11, and each of the others 12, of cast iron. They carried provisions for 18 or 20 months. Captain Francis Drake was sent by the Queen of England and her Council. The said Francis Drake is a native of Menguen² [*sic*] a hundred leagues from London. He is a gentleman, and carried with him ten gentlemen, one of whom was named Master Guillen³. The Admiral was named Master Ginter [Winter]; another Master Thomas [John Thomas] and still another Master Doctor [Thomas Doughty]⁴ all natives of London. They were sent by the Queen to pass through the Strait of Magellan to the South Sea. The first land

¹ Probably a clerical error, although in the document referred to in the preceding note, John Drake states that he "was commonly called the nephew of Francis Drake" although "he was his cousin"—a mistake probably due to the disparity of age between them.

² Obviously a mistake made by interpreter or scribe as Drake's birthplace was Crowndale, near Tavistock.

³ Probably William Hawkins, whose name appears as "guillen aquines" in this same document (p. 19, note 4) and who was one of the "gentlemen adventurers" who accompanied Drake. Being his kinsman it was natural that John Drake should mention him first, prudently refraining, however, from uttering the name of "Hawkins" in the presence of his examiners.

⁴ For the names of the gentlemen adventurers who accompanied Francis Drake, see Part XIII, B.

they made after leaving England was the Cape of Bugador [Mogador], where they remained for six days repairing their ships. There the Moors captured two Englishmen. From the time they left England until they reached the cape of Bugador they took no vessels. After leaving there they went to Cape Blanco where they took one Portuguese ship, from which they took all her provision of fish and four hundredweight of biscuit. Thence they went to Mayo, which is one of the Cape Verde islands, where they seized a merchant's ship and took from her all the merchandise she carried, which consisted of cloth, holland and a mixed cargo. The ship was of one hundred tons. There, on the said island, they stayed for four days and then sailed with six ships to the River Plate, without landing anywhere. They went up the river until they reached fresh water and remained there for six days, taking in water and fuel. Then they returned and sailed to the bay of San Julian. He does not remember when they sailed. The entrance to said bay is a league wide and is curved. The inner country is very high and mountainous. They remained there for thirty days, making a provision of water, wood and sea-lions¹. The river that flows into the bay is two paces² wide.

They saw some Indians there. He does not remember how much time they took from the River Plate to the said bay, which they reached with five ships only, as one had gone down in the gulf in a storm, with all its crew, in the month of July. The said ship was the one they had taken from the Portuguese and she was lost with all the merchandise³. From there they went to the bay of San Julian

¹ See note, p. 37.

² "pasos."

³ This is inaccurate. The "Maria," the Portuguese prize, was broken up along with the "Christopher" and the "Swan" at San Julian. The disposal of the merchandise of the "Maria" is recorded in John Winter's testimony, Part IX, 2, B.

with four ships only, because they had broken up and burnt one of them for fuel. It took them a month to reach the said bay—sailing in the open sea, always towards the south, not seeing a single vessel. In the bay of San Julian they stayed two months, on account of the bad weather and in order to repair their ships. The bay is one mile across and two miles long. In some parts it is four fathoms deep—in others two, and the surrounding coast is high. They saw seven or eight Indians who killed two Englishmen. They have much fresh water, but little wood. Thence they went to the strait without seeing land, taking 14 or 15 days and sailing always southward.

They cast anchor in the middle of the strait and entered it with three ships, because the other one had been broken up in the bay of San Julian. In the said bay, because a gentleman named Master Auter [Doughty] wished to mutiny with the men, the said Captain Francis had him beheaded.

The mouth of the strait is ten leagues wide and on entering it land is visible on each side. It is a mountainous country. From the entrance to where they anchored for the first time in a depth 100 fathoms the distance was of eight or ten leagues. There were many wooded islands, with many birds. On account of calms and contrary currents it took them five days to get to where they anchored. In the mouth of the said strait there are ten fathoms of water;—from there onwards thirty or forty, and, in some parts, sixty and even one hundred. For they always kept on taking soundings. They anchored between the main land and an island with a good harbour, and then they went on, taking soundings, until they disembogued into the South Sea. In its narrowest part the strait is one league wide. It is all high mountainous country. They saw no Indians, but noticed smoke. Throughout the strait the shallowest parts were ten fathoms deep. In the narrowest portion they found no bottom. The currents are not

strong. Having disembogued into the South Sea, at the left hand side of the exit, twenty leagues to the south they entered a harbour in land inhabited by Indians of middle stature. They remained there for fourteen days—with only the captain's ship, for, after having come into the South Sea one of the other two ships was lost in a storm and the other, turning back by the strait, went to England. To this day the Captain of the latter ship has been imprisoned because he turned back, and if he was not hanged it was because Captain Francis Drake interceded for him.

From the said harbour, to which they had been driven by the storm, they went to the island of Mocha on the coast of Chile and anchored there for one day and one night with only the Captain's ship and fifty souls—of whom two were taken and the said Captain Francis was wounded¹. On the said island they were not able to take water and fuel because the Indians are warlike and fight with pikes and bows and arrows. Therefore they went to within two leagues of the port of Valparaiso, where they landed. An Indian who was fishing guided them to the port of Valparaiso, where they arrived on the following night and cast anchor. In the said port they found a vessel at anchor and seized her on the following day. This was in the month of December. In the said vessel there was a great quantity of wine, provisions and gold. On land they also seized a quantity of wine and with the said vessel they set out to sea, sending nine of her crew ashore and taking two on the said vessel, which was of 120 tons. They went within a distance of ten leagues from Coquimbo, where they landed

¹ "Their names which went on shore were these folowing : Frances [sic] Drake, John Bruer, John Marten, Thomas Flud, Tom Bruer, Great Nele, a dane ; littell Nele a fleming, John Gripe, John Mariner, Gregory Rayment, Diego a black Moore, which was Drake's man ; of which company ij. namely Tom Bruer and Tom Flud were intercepted ...and lost, and great Nele the Dane, their gunner and Diego the black Moore died of their wonds...." Vaux, Appendix III, p. 179.

to take in water. There men on horseback came out and killed one Englishman¹, cut his head off and carried it away. They immediately embarked and went to a port which is nine miles distant from Arica where they took two men, four bars of silver and six sheep. In the said port of Arica they seized two vessels². From one of them they took forty bars of silver. The other only contained wine and some provisions. After having remained there for one day they left both vessels and all their men, excepting a Fleming whom they carried with them, with another man who had been brought from Santiago³. They went from Arica to a port at a distance of ten leagues, more or less, the name of which he does not know, finding there a 60 ton vessel, on which there was nothing, but in which they sent away the men they were carrying with them. With three ships they went out to sea and then to Lima, without meeting another vessel.

Twenty leagues before arriving at Callao de Lima they cast off the two vessels—one with sails set; the other adrift, without sails, and no men in the one or the other. In January they reached Callao de Lima and entered between the island and the main land, being piloted by a Portuguese whom they had seized in a bark that was six leagues out at sea⁴. In the said bark he carried silks and merchandise, but nothing was taken from him. They entered the said port of Callao at nine or ten o'clock at night and immediately visited six barks of twelve or thirteen tons that were there but contained nothing but bread and wine. Of all of these said ships they only

¹ Richard Minivy. See p. 44, note 1.

² For the names of their owners, see p. 68.

³ See depositions of both men, pp. 135 and 146.

⁴ The name of the captain of this bark was Gaspar Martin and it seems to have been from him that Drake obtained the latest European news as well as information about the treasure-ship. See p. 4, note 1 and p. 137.

took one which was laden with silks and doublets¹ and other things and was of 130 tons. He does not know to whom the vessel belonged; only that she had come from Panama². They took no man from her only one Indian whom they forthwith released. All this happened at night. By morning they were at the Point, and when they left the harbour three vessels pursued them. When they saw that these vessels were chasing them they waited until their pursuers approached within a league. The said vessels did not dare to approach nearer and suddenly fled with full sail. At that moment they seized a small ship laden with provisions, from which they took nothing more than a pilot³ who conducted them to the port of Païta.

They released the said boat with all her men excepting the said pilot and reached Païta at noon, taking another pilot⁴ from a bark, but leaving the latter. They stayed there for half a day and then went forty leagues farther to the point of San Francisco where they captured a ship of 80 tons⁵. He does not know whether she contained gold, but two friars accompanied by a gentleman were in her and they took these to their ship and gave them food. Because some negroes whom the friars were taking with them said that there was gold and silver in the said vessel, they put the two friars and the gentleman in a boat and sent them away. They took the ship with them, threatening the boatswain⁶ of the friars' ship that they would hang him if he did not say whether there was gold and silver in the

¹ Jubones.

² This ship belonged to Alonso Bautista. Drake took it with him for a distance of about five leagues and then cast it off with its negro crew and three Spaniards.

³ Named Domingo Martin. ⁴ Named Custodio Rodriguez.

⁵ Belonging to Benito Diaz Bravo, not "to friar's" as John Drake states.

⁶ It was not the boatswain but the clerk named Francisco Jacome who was "hanged" and who describes this experience in his deposition (p. 149).

said ship. The said boatswain said that there was none. The said Englishmen searched the ship, flogged the negro who had spoken, and released the ship with all it carried.

On the same day on which they released the friars' ship they saw another vessel of 120 tons, on its way to Panama. At seven or eight o'clock at night they took her, using arquebuses, although she resisted for some time. They wounded her pilot¹ and guarded the ship all night until the next morning, when they went below decks, where they found a great quantity of silver, and but little gold, all of which they transferred to the English ship, also taking a quantity of flour and hams. Captain Francis distributed among the men of the said ship some of the table-service he carried, and, keeping her for two or three days after having emptied her, let her go. The said Captain Francis then set out on the route to Mexico and the first place he arrived at were some islands that are near Nicaragua. He does not know what they are called. Shortly before reaching the said islands they took a vessel laden with maize that was bound for Panama and was of 15 tons. As soon as they reached the said islands they took in water and wood and spent five or six days there, not going ashore on account of the Indians there, who were hostile.

Thence they ran along the coast towards Guatulco, taking, on their way, a vessel bound for Lima in which there travelled a gentleman named Don Francisco de Zarate². The Englishmen took him to their ship and kept him there for three days. He was taken at seven in the morning without making any resistance. The said ship was of sixty tons. Declarant thinks that they took five or six bales of cloth and silk from a Flemish

¹ Captain San Juan de Anton who, in his depositions pluckily makes no mention whatever of his having been wounded. See his depositions, Part IV, p. 155, also that of his clerk, p. 176.

² See his deposition, p. 201.

merchant who was on the ship, but from the said Don Francisco they took nothing. From the said ship they took a great quantity of sea biscuits. Francis Drake showed much favour to Don Francisco and gave him his cabin in the poop to sleep in. He took from Don Francisco a negress named Maria, and the pilot¹ of said ship. They saw no other vessel until they reached Guatulco, where they found a vessel of a hundred tons, laden with linen from Rouen and stuffs of different sorts; from which they only took four or five bales of cloth and some nails. They were in said port two days, during which time they landed and took two or three Spaniards², whom they afterwards released, with the Portuguese whom they had taken at the island of Mayo.

They then set sail with men of their own nation only³, the said negress Maria, a negro whom they had taken at Païta, and another they took at Guatulco, besides one they had brought with them from England. He does not know what day they left Guatulco, only that it was in April. They sailed out at sea always to the north-west and north-north-west the whole of April and May until the middle of June, from Guatulco, which lies in 15 degrees north, until they reached 48 degrees north. On their voyage they met with great storms. All the sky was dark and full of mist. On the voyage they saw five or six islands in 46 and 48 degrees. Captain Francis gave the land that is situated in 48 degrees the name of New England⁴. They were there a month and a half, taking in water and wood and repairing their ship.

¹ Named Juan Pascual whose two depositions see at pp. 323 and 332

² Whose depositions see at pp. 347 and 350.

³ By "men of their own nation" members of their own company are probably meant, for in the list of the 49 men who returned with Drake (see Part XIII, 1, B) there are French and Flemish names.

⁴ This is an inaccuracy, for 48° was the highest latitude reached and the name "Nova Albion" was bestowed upon a part of California.

From there they went to the islands "de los Ladrones." On account of the great cold they did not go further north than 48 degrees and from the said New England they navigated to the south-west to the islands "de los Ladrones," which are in nine degrees.

The Indians in these islands are very warlike Indians, of whom they killed twenty because a hundred canoes full came out against them. These Indians go about naked. From the said islands "de los Ladrones" they went, after nine days, to an island whose name he does not know, only remembering that it is in seven degrees, and that they had been navigating to the south and south-west. On this island they spent a day taking in water and wood. From thence they sailed to the Moluccas, navigating south-west. They reached it after a voyage of twenty days and remained there for eight days, bartering with the Indians and Moors. In the said islands there are cloves and ginger, but there is little gold and silver. A Portuguese vessel was there but they did not seize her or fight her. The said islands are mounted with artillery. There they took in a supply of meat and provisions and lightened their ship by reducing their company to sixty men. The kind of provisions they got there was: cassava, bananas and chickens, which they obtained for woollen stuffs.

From thence they went to an island situated in four degrees north and, as it was uninhabited, they obtained nothing there but water, fuel and some crabs, remaining there a month and a half on account of contrary winds. There they left the two negroes and the negress Maria, to found a settlement, leaving them rice, seeds and means of making fire. From thence they went to an island named Java, which is in 8 degrees and is inhabited by Indians. They were there for 15 days and the said Indians gave them rice, cows, fowls and cassava, for which provisions they gave, in exchange, holland and woollen stuffs. There

were two Portuguese there who hid themselves. One Portuguese came on the said ship with Indians, to see whether they could seize her. The Indians here wear clothing. Without touching land they sailed from there to the Cape of Good Hope. It was only after two months and a half that they doubled it, taking it in thirty-six degrees south. They were going to take port at the Coast of Guinea but did not do so because they had contrary winds and found no good anchorage. They proceeded directly to Sierra Leone and harboured there for five days, cleaning their vessel and taking in water and wood. For at the Cape of Good Hope they had found themselves reduced to three pipes of water and half a pipe of wine with fifty-nine persons aboard, one having died.

When they arrived in sight of land at Sierra Leone all the water on board was portioned out and for every three men there was not more than half a pint remaining. If they had been delayed two or three days longer they would have died of thirst. From Sierra Leone, without taking port or sighting a vessel, they went to the port of Plymouth, in England, where they unloaded all the gold and silver. Some of the crew carried it to the Castle of Plymouth and delivered it to the Keeper of the Fortress. They remained there for a month and the said Francis Drake went from Plymouth Castle to London with one half of the silver and gold. Being then a boy, declarant did not know, nor has he since known, how much was given to the Queen or how much remained in the possession of the said Francis Drake.

The interpreter Juan Perez swore in due form that the foregoing is the truthful translation of what John Drake told him and that he has not stated more or less, either from affection or from fear or for any other reason whatsoever....

It also appears that the said John Drake said that after

leaving the Islands of Crabs, where they had left the negress and the negroes and which is situated in four degrees, they were driven by the wind out of their course, first in one direction then in another for one whole month.

One night they were caught by a very good south wind. Among some islands, in five or six degrees, the ship ran aground on a ledge of rock in such a way that from its poop they could not find bottom at a depth of more than three hundred fathoms in which to fasten an anchor, and haul off the ship. On finding that they could not touch bottom they threw overboard eight pieces of artillery, and one half of the ten tons of spices, cloves, ginger and pepper that they had obtained, by exchange, in the Moluccas; also two pipes of flour and a quantity of clothing. All knelt and prayed to God to deliver them from their peril and it pleased Him that, with the lightening of the ship, she was released, after having been aground for twenty hours... the only damage sustained being a slight leakage.

4

SECOND NARRATIVE OF THE VOYAGE OF CIRCUM-
NAVIGATION GIVEN BY JOHN DRAKE¹.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN FRANCIS.

...At the age of 14 or 15 years this declarant accompanied Captain Francis, his cousin, on a voyage, on which they started from the port of Plymouth in England, with four

¹ Extract from the official records of the examination of John Drake, Englishman, by the Tribunal of the Inquisition at Lima, Peru, during the audiences held on the 8th, 9th and 10th days of January 1587, on which he gave, under oath

A. An account of his parentage and life-history, and religious faith.

B. A narrative of the Voyage of Circumnavigation he had made with Francis Drake.

C. Account of his voyage with Edward Fenton. *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 2, C. 5, L. 2-21, 49.

A copy of this official record (in which one sentence was carelessly

ships and a pinnace of seventeen tons. The said Captain Francis was their General. The Captains of the two armed vessels were John Winter, who was Admiral and John Thomas, Captain. The other ship was a provision ship and had no captain, but the Chief of those on board of her was named John Chester. Nor were there any soldiers in the pinnace. The crews of all said ships, including soldiers and sailors, numbered a hundred and forty men in all. The Captain's ship carried eighteen pieces of artillery; the Admiral's ship sixteen, the other armed vessel six and the provision ship five. The pinnace carried some "versos¹". Besides this they carried all kinds of arms, and four or five different sorts of fireworks, such as balls, to be thrown by hand, furnished with [barbed] nails so that they would stick fast wherever they struck; arrows for setting sails and ships on fire and fire appliances of other kinds. Declarant does not know of what composition these were made, only that they all contained gunpowder. Some of them had been manufactured in England before they sailed; others were made by the gunners on board. The

omitted) exists in the *Coleccion Navarrete*, tomo xxvi, No. 22, and is referred to by Fernandez Duro, *Armada Española*, vol. ii, p. 510.

A translation from this Navarrete copy has just been published in an Appendix to her valuable work *Sir Francis Drake and his descendants* by Lady Elliott Drake. A "Relacion," embodying the narratives B and C, and omitting Part A, of which only a few sentences are given, was written by the secretary of the Inquisition and sent to Spain for secular use. An old copy of this abbreviated "Relacion" exists in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A., where I saw it in July, 1911, and a transcript was kindly given me by the Librarian, Mr George Parker Winship. A translation of this "Relacion" (said to have been made by Froude) was published anonymously in the *Western Antiquary*, vol. viii, May, 1889, and has been quoted from by Mr Julian Corbett. A copy of the same translation, in a lady's handwriting, is contained in a MS. volume entitled "A collection of important historical MSS. relating to Sir Francis Drake 1580-1608, transcribed for Henry Stevens from original papers and correspondence," which I have been able to examine through the courtesy of its owner Mr M. H. K. Wright, Borough Librarian of the Public Library at Plymouth.

¹ A "verso" resembled a demi-culverin but was somewhat smaller.

arms that they employed most were arquebuses. This fleet was procured by Captain Francis. Declarant does not know by whose order. They left Plymouth towards the end of December and declarant went in the Captain's ship, serving Captain Francis as page. Declarant understood that when they left England there were not two men in the fleet who knew whither they were bound—nor did declarant know it.

The first land they sighted was a small island near the Coast of Barbary named Gomodoro where they landed and built a pinnace, which the Spaniards call a launch, of wrought wood carried from England. They took nine days to build her, at the end of which time they embarked and went to Cape Verde, to an island named Mayo. There they took in water and some goats which they found. The said island is colonized by Portuguese. They spent one or two days there and without making another port, went to the River Plate. On their way they met a Portuguese vessel which was becalmed and seized her without encountering resistance. Thirty or forty men were in her: passengers, merchants and sailors. They took the ship and the cargo and the pilot named Sylvester¹ who was a Portuguese. The said pinnace was given to the Portuguese so that they could go to land.

Captain Francis entered the said Portuguese ship with the said Portuguese pilot and other persons and sailed in the said ship as far as the River Plate². They anchored

¹ Marginal note in MS.: "This Sylvester's name was Nuño da Silva who, having subsequently been left in the port of Guatulco was taken prisoner by the Inquisitors of New Spain who sentenced him to do penance publicly because it was testified against him, and he confessed, that he had taken Holy Communion twice according to the mode of the said English Lutherans. He excused himself by asserting that he had been forced to do so and he denied the intention" [of committing acts of heresy].

² The seizure of Nuño da Silva's ship named the "Maria" initiated Drake's trouble with Thomas Doughty. The latter was left in

off the Cape of Santa Maria, on the mainland and remained there for three days, taking in water and fuel, there being nothing else obtainable for the place was uninhabited.

They next arrived at a port named Seal Bay (Baya de Lobos¹) which lies some hundred leagues before the strait and there they broke up the provision ship and used a part of it for fuel, for it was very cold. Captain Francis gave it the name of Seal Bay because of the many seals that were there. They remained there for a month, salting seal-meat and living on fresh seal. They took water from a stream that flowed from between two mountains, issuing from a lagoon that was a mile distant, in which there were a great multitude of different kinds of ducks. One day there appeared near there about 60 Indians, naked, although some wore what were like half shirts which appeared as though made of feathers. They had bows and arrows and came to the place where the English were and spoke to them. For a whole day and night they sang and danced and did not give or offer anything to the English, although they accepted from them seal meat, which they ate nearly raw. When the meat was offered they had a way of turning their arm and hand and stretching them as far back as they possibly could and thus taking what was given

command of Francis Drake's flagship, the Pelican, and Drake transferred himself to the "Maria" on which he made the voyage to Brazil, piloted by Nuño da Silva.

¹ What the Spaniards named Lobo de mar=sea-wolf is known to naturalists as the Patagonian sea-lion=*Otaria jubata* or Cook's Otary. It was first found by Magellan in 1520 and the name "sea-wolf" was probably suggested by the fact that the peculiar barking sound emitted by sea-lions somewhat resembles barking of wolves. Cook's naturalist, Forster, gave it the specific name "jubata" from the Latin juba=mane, owing to the fact that, at that date, many very old, large and rugged individuals of this animal existed. For a representation of this sea-lion see *Mammalia Living and Extinct*, by Flower and Lyddeker, p. 595. See also "The sea-lion family (Otariidae)," by James Murie Cassell, *Natural History*, vol. ii.

A quaint pen and ink drawing of a "sea-calfe," copied, in 1677, from Francis Fletcher's original sketch made in 1577, exists on p. 15 of Sloane MSS. 61 at the British Museum.

them. They returned daily for two or three days and at night made fires on a hill. They are of middle stature, beardless, with long hair falling over their shoulders. They did not understand anything that was spoken. Lastly three Indians came to where Captain Francis was standing and not giving heed. One of the said Indians snatched his cap from his head and ran away. An Englishman raised his arquebuse and was about to send a shot after him when the Captain commanded him "not to kill a man for a cap," but to beat him instead if they could catch him¹. The next time the Indian came near enough an Irishman made a dash to seize him but only caught the cloak of skins which he wore. A piece of this remained in the Irishman's hand and the Indian inquired by means of signs why he had done this to him. Whereupon the latter explained by signs that it was because the Indian had taken the cap. Then the Indian with the point of his arrow cut himself on his legs until they bled. The English supposed that he thereby meant to offer satisfaction to them.

The said Captain Drake had come thither in his own *Capitana* from the River Plate while the Portuguese pilot sailed in his own ship, and it was in the same order that

¹ In the short anonymous abstract of the Voyage of Circumnavigation, dated 1580, published as Appendix III by Vaux (*World Encompassed*, Hakluyt Soc., Ser. I, vol. xvi, p. 198), it is related that "one lepte sodenly to hym (he alone and with his bake towards them) and toke his cappe with his gold band from his heade and rann a litle distance from hym and shared it with his fellowe, the cappe to the one and the band to thothar." But in the following sentence it is merely stated that Drake "rann at them to have taken them." It is natural that John Drake, who was also probably closer at hand, should have heard and recorded Drake's humane order "not to kill a man for a cap," which evidently impressed him deeply.

It is interesting to learn, from the Sloane MS. 61 (Vaux, p. 49), that the colour of Drake's "sea-cap" was scarlet. Its shape was probably that represented as worn by the Lord High Admiral Charles Howard, in the splendid portrait belonging to the Earl of Verulam and preserved at Gorhambury House. A similar cap of silk, beautifully embroidered with gold thread, with a scarf to match, was given by Queen Elizabeth to Drake and still belongs to the Drake family, being kept at Nutwell Court.

they left Seal bay. From Seal bay, which lies in forty-eight deg. they went to the Port of San Julian in forty-nine deg.—so called by Magellan, as proven by his map. It is an uninhabited port, and while its entrance is dangerous on account of certain shoals, further inland it furnishes a very good harbour. From what deponent subsequently heard said when it was discussed how long they remained in this port, it must have been a month and a half. As Captain Francis and others went in a boat in search of water three giant youths appeared, two of them carrying bows and arrows. The third was a boy and came unarmed. They conversed with the Englishmen by means of signs and requested an Englishman to draw the bow he carried. It seems that they were filled with fear at a man so small shooting so far. Then the said giants began to shoot off their arrows. An old giant arrived and spoke to the others in what seemed to be an angry voice. He kept beating a small dog he carried so that it should bite Captain Francis. The English archer's cord having broken the giants approached and one of them shot an arrow at his back, which entered his arm. They shot another arrow at a Fleming. It entered his breast and he fell down dead. They shot a second arrow at the English archer which pierced his breast, causing his death later. Captain Francis shot, with his arquebuse, at one of the said giants and he was seen to fall dead. The Englishmen retired to their ship and from there saw groups of three or four giants, or sometimes two.

While in this port Captain Francis had an English gentleman named Thomas Doughty beheaded, because he was inciting the men to mutiny. Abandoning the Portuguese ship in the said port, after breaking up a part of her for fuel, the Portuguese pilot entered the Captain's ship and they then departed from Port San Julian with three vessels. Without stopping anywhere they followed the coast until they reached the strait which lies in fifty-two deg. At its

entrance they found three small islands and anchored near one of them, bestowing upon it the name of Elizabeth¹. There they found many birds like ducks without feathers², who cannot fly, but run away, on land, with all their might, but not so quick that a man cannot catch them. They breed underground in caves. During the seven days that they spent there, they took in a large provision of these birds, and then went on. At a distance of about nine or ten leagues, which is at about the middle of the strait, they found another island on the lee of which they took shelter because the wind, which was northerly, would not let them proceed. On this account Captain Francis named this place Cape Contrary. They remained there, constantly endeavouring to pass on, for fifteen days, at the end of which time the wind turned to a south wind, which was favourable, and they were able to proceed. During those days they saw fires on both sides of the Strait and there were differences of opinion as to whether the land that is on the other side of the strait and called *incognita* is an island or main land³. Further on they came to an island, so situated in the middle of the strait that narrow channels were formed at both sides, each one half a league in width.

¹ See in Vaux, Cliffe's statements (p. 279) and Fletcher's contradictory evidence (pp. 75 and 92); also the latter's maps, Plates III and IV.

² Penguins.

³ "Y avia diversos pareceres sobre si la tierra que esta de aquella parte de el estrecho, que llaman yncognita, era ysla o tierra firme...." Cf. "In passing alongst wee plainly discovered that the same terra australis, left or sett down to bee terra incognita before we came there, to bee no Continent (and therefore no Streight), but broken Islands and large passages amongst them" (Francis Fletcher's notes, copied by Joh. Conyers, Sloane MS. 61, quoted by Vaux, *World Encompassed*, p. 72); also (on p. 71 of the same publication) the following: "At this cape (neere which lies the entrance into the straight...) our generall caused his fleet, in homage to our soveraigne lady the Queene's maiesty, to strike their top-sailes upon the bunt, as a token of his willing and glad minde, to shewe his dutifull obedience to her highnes, whom he acknowledged to have full interest and right *in that new discovery...*" (italics are mine).

But these were very deep, and on trying to take soundings no bottom was touched.

Near that island, on the *terra incognita* side, they anchored in a small bay where they took in water and wood. They then went on navigating, and found no other island until they reached the South Sea. From that island onwards the narrowest part of the strait is three leagues and the broadest six leagues wide. On the island that was in the middle of the strait they found two canoes and on taking one of them, two small, naked Indians appeared and offered seal meat to Captain Francis. He returned the canoe to the Indians and did not take the meat, for it was not good. All the three ships sailed out into the South Sea. The shore of the strait, from the middle towards the North Sea, is all low lying land, which is even flat in some parts. The remainder of it, towards the south, is very high and mountainous land, exposed to winds and storms and all this country is very cold.

They sailed into the South Sea for a distance of fifty leagues, where they met with a great storm and, seeking refuge from this they again sighted land in the region of the strait. One night, after the three ships had been together, one of them¹, whose captain was John Thomas, disappeared towards morning—nor did she reappear, and they never knew whether she was lost or what had happened. After having been blown about, for some days by the said storm the second ship said that she did not want to follow the General and turned about and re-entered the strait and was seen no more². Being left alone Captain Francis, with his one ship, went from that part of the

¹ The "Marigold," which was lost.

² "el otro navio que era el Almirante dixo que no queria seguir al General y se torno a entrar por el estrecho." This testimony, in conjunction with that given in note 2, proves that John Winter's desertion of Drake was voluntary.

strait that lies between fifty-three deg. southwards, and fifty-two or fifty-two and a half deg. northwards, toward the *terra incognita*¹ and anchored behind an island in fifty-four deg. But the winds, which were violent, drove them from there². They then anchored in another port off an island where they took in water and wood and found many herbs which they cooked, to eat. Captain Francis having heard that one of these herbs was

¹ "Estando solo el capitan Francisco con su nao paso de aquella parte de el estrecho el qual por el sur esta cinquenta y tres grades y por la del norte en cinquenta y dos o en cinquenta y dos y medio hacia la tierra yncognita...."

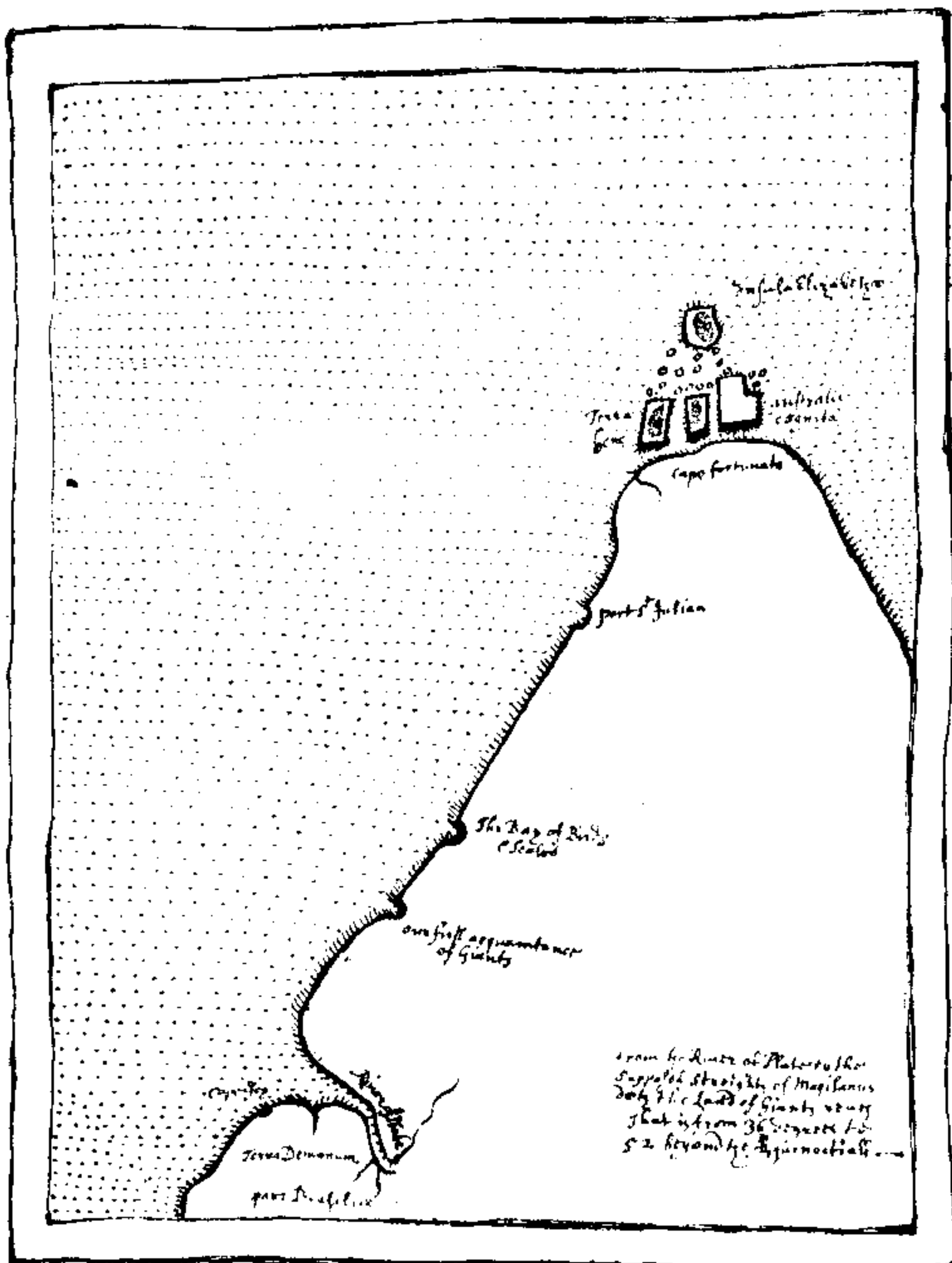
² It was at this time that Peter Carder, of St Verian in Cornwall "with seven men, in an open pinnace or shallop, of five tons, was separated from his Generall by foule weather in the South Sea in October 1578." The following is an extract from his relation which first appeared in *Purchas*, London, 1625, Part IV: "Shortly after his [John Winter's in the *Elisabeth*] separation from our company our Generall [Drake] commanded eight men to furnish our small Pinnasse or shallop with eight men, whose names were these: my selfe, Peter Carder aforesaid, Richard Burnish of London, John Cottle and another, both servants to Master John Hawkins, Artyur a Dutch Trompetor, Richard Joyner servant to Vincent Scoble of Plimmouth, Pasche Gidie of Salt Ashe and William Pitcher of London.

"This company was commanded to waite upon the ship for all necessary uses, but having not passed one dayes victuals in us nor any card nor compasse, saving only the benefit of eight oares, in the night time by foule weather suddenly arising we lost the sight of our ship, and though our ship sought us and we them for a fortnight together, yet could we never meet together again" (*Purchas*, Glasgow, 1906, vol. xvi, p. 136).

The party repassed the Strait and made their way up the coast to the River Plate, and after terrible sufferings there and in Brazil, Carder alone survived to gain a passage at Pernambuco in a "hulke" bound to England, and manned by 8 Englishmen and 14 Portuguese. He reached England towards the end of November, 1586, nine years and fourteen days after his departure with Francis Drake on his Voyage around the World. The following are his concluding words: "My strange adventures and long living among cruell savages being known to the right honourable the Lord Charles Howard, Lord High Admirall of England, he certified to the Queen's Majesty thereof with speech and brought me to her presence at White Hall, where it pleased her to talk with me a longe houre's space of my travailes and wonderfull escape and among other things of the manner of Master Dowties execution, and afterwards bestowed twenty-two angels on me, willing my Lord to have consideration of me, with many gracious words I was dismissed, humbly thanking the Almighty for my miraculous preservation and safe return to my native Countrie."

This scheme bears no resemblance to the original

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FRANCIS FLETCHER'S MAP OF THE THREE ISLANDS
 "bearing triangle-wise one from another," the southernmost of which Drake
 called Elizabeth Island.

Photograph from copy contained in Sloane MS. No. 61, British Museum.

medicinal, had much juice squeezed from its leaves and gave this, in wine, to the sick¹. For nearly all were ill with swollen legs and gums; from which illness all recovered excepting two who afterwards died. While they were lying at anchor in this port a great storm parted one of their cables and they lost an anchor. Proceeding to fifty-six deg. they found a very good island where they anchored and took in water and fuel and collected certain herbs which they knew. There they found some canoes without men.

Returning thence to fifty-five deg. they found an island all covered with ducks and made a provision of their meat. With a good strong wind they then sailed, without seeing land, until they arrived at the island of La Mocha in Chile, in thirty-eight deg. Before reaching it, there was such a great storm that they could not see land for many days, and they entertained a suspicion on going between those islands of the strait, that they had perhaps returned to the North Sea, until they sighted the said island of La Mocha². There they anchored under the shelter of the island. Wanting to take water they sent two men, with two barrels. While these men were filling the barrels in a brook, some Indians tried to seize them

¹ Cf. "Amongst other the simples we had in this place (many being to me verry strange and unknowne, because I neither had seen them in other countrys in my travailes, nor found them mentioned in any aproved herballs) were naturally growing, without industry of man, Time, Marjerom, Alexander's scurvy-grass, as sea men call it (scirby grass) and divers others well known to us, all whereof were more excellent in their natures than we find them in these partes in our gardens. And for other strange plants they were so gummy and full of fattness, that touching them the fatt and the gum would stick to our hands, being so pleasant that it yielded a most comfortable smell to our senses, whereby we received great help, both in our diet and physick, to the great relief of the limbs of our men...." Sloane MS. 61, printed by Vaux, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

² "teniendo mucha tormenta y no viendo tierra en muchos dias, tuvieran sospecha si andanda entre aquellas yslas del estrecho se avian tornado a la mar del norte hasta que vieran la dicha ysla de

and they fled and attempted to embark in their boat. But the Indians shot many arrows at them, wounding all in the boat, although the arrows did not enter the flesh deeply. They wounded Captain Francis, who was in the said boat, in his head and in his face. Two or three of those who were in the boat died and naught was ever known of the two men who remained behind on land. After this they departed and went on to a place where they found some Indians. On asking them whether they had seen any ships, in case that they might have seen one of theirs, the Indians told them that further back in the port of Santiago there was a vessel.

So they turned back, and when they entered the port those on the vessel thought they were Spaniards and began to prepare some refreshments and regalements for them. On reaching the said vessel they seized her with her cargo of gold and other property and two sailors who were in her. Transferring all upon his ship Captain Francis sent the said vessel adrift, with set sails, near Lima and sent one of the sailors ashore at Arica and another here in Callao. From Santiago they went to Coquimbo where they took in water and wood. There the Spaniards killed an Englishman¹ with an arquebuse-shot while he was on

¹ "One Richard Minivy, being overbold and careless of his safety... chose either to make 300 men, by outbraving them, to become afraide, or else himselfe to die in the place; the latter which he did whose dead body being drawne by the Indians from the rocke to the shore was there manfully by the Spaniards beheaded, the right hand cut off, the heart pluckt out; all which they carried away in our sight, and for the rest of his carcase they caused the Indians to shoote it full of arrowes...and so left it to be devoured of the beastes and foules, but that we went ashoare again and buried it" (Francis Fletcher, *World Encompassed*, Vaux, p. 103; see also pp. 180, 240, 260 and 287).

This episode occurred near Lacerone, a league distant from Coquimbo, Peru. According to collective evidence, both Spanish and English, Minivy had charge of the twelve men who landed to guard those who were taking in water. When the Spanish horsemen approached he mustered his men and made them retire towards the boat. Gallantly remaining behind to cover their retreat, he faced the Spaniards, discharged his arquebuse at them and drew his sword,

land getting water. From Coquimbo they went to another port, whose name deponent does not know and there, on board the ship they had taken at Santiago, they built a pinnace with planks that they had brought from England. It took them one month to build her and then they launched her, and, with the two ships and the pinnace, they came to Mormorena where they took some fish from the Indians. From thence they came to some Indian villages, twenty leagues distant from Arica and, when they landed the inhabitants did not think that they were strangers and came towards them. They waited until the latter approached near enough and seized two Spaniards and a certain kind of native sheep or cow¹ and took one of the said Spaniards aboard in order to pilot them to the port of Arica.

On entering Arica they found two vessels and took from them about forty bars of silver and some wine. On planning to land they realised that those ashore would already have hidden away their property and that the magistrate who was there, on horseback, waiting, would not fail to kill some one, so they agreed not to land. Accordingly Captain Francis sent ashore one of the men he had seized in Santiago and another who was one of the

whereupon he was shot through the head and killed instantly. Later the Spaniards "came to the shore with a flag of truce, but Drake would trust none of them, and set sayle." The Spanish report sent by the authorities at Coquimbo to the Council of the Inquisition in Spain relates: "An English book, containing many written marginal notes, which were quotations from Holy Scripture, was found on the breast of the dead man." This was "seized and burnt" by the "Corregidor" or Magistrate, as being a heretical work (Simancas, *Inquisicion*, lib. 760, cap. 2, fol. 2). After this experience Drake adopted the method of seizing persons acquainted with the coast and holding them as hostages, obliging them to inform him where water could be obtained in safety.

¹ The "llama," which Francis Fletcher quaintly describes thus: "their height and length was equall to a pretty cow...they have neckes like camels, their heads bearing a reasonable resemblance of another sheepe...." *World Encompassed*, p. 107.

Corsicans he had taken in Arica¹. He left there one of the ships. An English sailor set fire to the other contrary to the wish of the Captain². From Arica they came to the port of Arequipa where they found a vessel. They heard it said that this ship had contained many bars of silver, but that on that same day these had been unloaded. So they found nothing inside the ship; but they took her with them. Out in the open sea they sent her adrift with set sails and also the ship they had seized at Santiago. This was done so that these ships might not be able to pursue them, for both were good and swift sailors.

On the day previous to the night when they entered the port of Callao they met a bark, coming thence with a cargo of goods and passengers. In view of the fact that she did not carry any silver or gold they left her, taking only a Portuguese mariner whom they understood to be the pilot of the bark. Captain Francis took him into his galleon with the object, as far as deponent understood, that the pilot should take them into the port of Callao. On sailing between the main land and the island they struck a shoal and thought that they had run aground. Believing that the Portuguese had done this maliciously, Captain Francis threatened to cut off his head. However they proceeded towards the island and entered the port simultaneously with another vessel. They anchored close together and when the Englishmen inquired whence she had come, the other ship answered "from Panama." Captain Francis ordered the Spaniards he carried on board to say that his was a galleon from Chile, then in the boat, with six or seven men, accompanied by the pinnace, carrying twenty or thirty men, he went to the other vessels anchored

¹ For the depositions of Drake's released prisoners see Part IV, p. 134.

² This passage exonerates Francis Drake from the accusation made against him by Ambassador Mendoza of having wantonly burnt the ships. See Part XII, 1.

there and cut their cables. According to what deponent understood this was done so that, having been cut loose, the wind would carry these ships out of the port, where he could seize them, and hold them for ransom, so that, in exchange, they would give him the English Captain who was said to be a prisoner in Lima. According to what deponent heard said, this Captain's name was John Oxenham.

But the wind fell and the ships remained motionless and, not having found either gold or silver therein they went in the pinnace to the ship from Panama and attacked its crew, but were not able to take her. One Englishman named Thomas was killed. Because her crew had offered resistance Captain Francis went to his galleon and fired a cannon-shot at the ship from Panama, which went through both of her sides without killing anyone. Seeing this, those of the ship abandoned her and went ashore in their boat. Captain Francis sent in pursuit of the boat, in order to take her but was not able to do so. One of her men, however, who seemed to be a half breed, threw himself into the sea and he was taken into the galleon. The Englishmen then seized the Panama ship which had been abandoned. Suddenly a sound of great shouting came from the shore and the bells began to ring. A custom house inspection boat came out, and when she came alongside of the galleon, and the occupants perceived her cannon they began to shout "Frenchmen! Frenchmen¹!"

All that night they lay becalmed but the tide carried them out of the port. On the next day they saw two or three vessels and a launch come out of Callao in pursuit of them. On seeing this Captain Francis, imagining he might have to fight, summoned to his galleon the men he had placed in the Panama ship. He left in her the sailor he had carried from Chile, named Juan Griego; as well as the Fleming he had

¹ See the Spanish official account of this episode, p. 92.

taken in Arica and the half-breed from Callao. Then he went his way, and without entering any other port, they went to Paíta where they took a boat that was anchored there, but left her, taking from her one of her crew, to give information about the adjoining shoals. On arriving at the Cape of San Francisco they found another bark in which some friars were travelling. They took this also, sending her occupants in the boat to the shore, which was near, but detaining the owner of the bark and his nephew, who was a clerk, and some negroes. After seizing the gold that they found on board¹ the clerk said that there was no more—but the negroes said there was. Captain Francis ordered that the clerk was to be hanged by the neck to a beam so that he should declare whether there was more gold. The clerk said that there was not and that the negroes had lied. Not having found more Captain Francis released the clerk and carried the bark, in tow, until they perceived the vessel of San Juan de Anton, which he espied at a distance of about three leagues². In order to take her, Captain Francis pretended not to follow her and, to prevent his galleon from sailing too fast, he hung out many cables and mattresses³ which went dragging along.

¹ According to other authorities Drake found in this bark "about 80^{lb} weight of gould..." also "a great crucifix of goulde and certain emeralds neere as long as a man's finger" (Vaux, pp. 102 and 182). In connection with this it is interesting to learn that some time after his return, Drake presented Queen Elizabeth with a crown set with five emeralds, three of which were "almost as long as a finger" while the two round ones were valued at "20,000 crowns, coming as they do from Peru." Bernardino de Mendoza to King Philip II, Jan. 9, 1581.

² Though prudent enough to abstain from boasting here of what was doubtlessly one of the proudest achievements of his life, namely, his winning the promised gold chain for being the first to spy, from the masthead, on St David's Day, the eagerly sought for treasure-ship, John Drake does record the distance at which he first saw the coveted prize. He does not dwell upon the riches the latter contained, referring to this only as "much silver."

³ John Drake told his examiners here that Drake dragged "cabos y colchones"; possibly because he did not care to betray the

He lowered his sails and hid his pinnace at the off side of his galleon. Towards dusk San Juan de Anton came towards him and they hailed each other. By order of Captain Francis the Spaniards who were in his galleon said "that it was the ship of Miguel Angel," to which San Juan de Anton responded "that this could not be for he had left that ship empty at Callao." He challenged them to "strike sail in the name of the King." Captain Francis, in turn, demanded them to "strike sail in the name of the Queen of England" and shot a cannon at them which carried off her mizen. An arrow shot wounded San Juan de Anton¹ and he struck sail. So they took the vessel, with much silver and carried her with them for three days until a calm befell them, when they were able to transfer the silver to the galleon of Captain Francis. They then released San Juan de Anton's ship, with her crew and the remainder of her cargo, on the route from Paita and, pursuing their course, they went to the island of Caño. There they anchored and Captain Francis careened his ship, in order to clean her. While there a bark passed by, coming from Nicaragua and laden with maize and sarsaparilla. This was taken by the pinnace, although there was armed resistance. Her occupants were transferred to the pinnace and this was allowed to go. The bark was taken as well as one of the three or four pilots who were travelling in her².

After having been at the said island for eight or nine days they departed. Just before reaching the gulf of

device that had in reality been adopted, of trailing a number of "botijas" or wine jars filled with water behind the vessel. See p. 267.

¹ See San Juan de Anton's deposition, p. 155, in which, like de Parraces, he makes no allusion to having been wounded; and Lawrence Elyot's answers to interrogatories wherein Drake's care of his wounded prisoner is described, Part XIII, 1, B.

² See the depositions of five occupants of this bark, and of

Papagaya they met a vessel coming from Mexico, in which was Don Francisco de Zarate¹. From this they took certain stuffs and biscuit and, because the vessel was in a ruinous condition, Captain Francis wanted to hang the pilot for carrying in her a gentleman like Don Francisco².

During the days when Captain Francis detained Don Francisco on his ship he regaled him at his table. He then let him go with his company in their ship as well as the pilot of the other ship he had taken previously. From Don Francisco's vessel Captain Francis took a sailor named Juan Pascual³ and then proceeded to the port of Guatulco in which they found one vessel. They sent men on shore in the pinnace and they seized a Judge, a priest and others and brought them to the ship. After having taken in water and wood, and some stuffs that were in said ship, as well as a negro, Captain Francis released the afore-said men and, with them, the Portuguese pilot, Sylvester, whom he had taken before they passed through the strait.

Then they left and sailed, always on a wind, in a north-west and north-north-westerly direction, for a thousand leagues until they reached forty-four degrees when the wind changed and he went to the Californias where he discovered land in forty-eight deg.⁴. There he landed and built huts and remained for a month and a half, caulking his vessel. The victuals they found were mussels⁵ and sea-lions⁶. During that time many Indians came there and

¹ See his deposition, p. 201.

² It is obvious that John Drake thought it best not to mention the true reason why the pilot Colchero was "hanged," and invented the above excuse that it was done as a punishment for having exposed Don Francisco to danger in an unseaworthy ship!

³ Cf. Juan Pascual's two depositions, pp. 323 and 332.

⁴ See note 1, p. 16.

⁵ "mejillones" = *Mytilus aedilus*.

⁶ The species *Arctocephalos* (Otaria) *Californiana*, which is found off the coast of California and the Farallone Islands. In the *World Encompassed*, Vaux, p. 131, it is stated that Drake, on one occasion, distributed to the inhabitants of California "such victualls as we had provided for ourselves as Muscles, Seales and such like."

when they saw the Englishmen they wept and scratched their faces with their nails until they drew blood, as though this were an act of homage or adoration. By signs Captain Francis told them not to do that, for the Englishmen were not God. These people were peaceful and did no harm to the English, but gave them no food. They are of the colour of the Indians here [Peru] and are comely. They carry bows and arrows and go naked. The climate is temperate, more cold than hot. To all appearance it is a very good country. Here he caulked his large ship and left the ship he had taken in Nicaragua¹. He departed, leaving the Indians, to all appearance, sad. From here he went alone with the said ship², taking the route to the Moluccas. On account of the currents which hindered him he directed his course towards China before he reached the latitude of one and a half deg. north. From there they went to the Island of "los Ladrones" in nine deg. There many Indians came out with fish and they bartered with them, giving beads and other trifles in exchange. These Indians came in canoes which were very well made and they rowed very well with short oars. They were naked and carried their spears and stones. They always quarrelled over the beads and things that were given them in exchange and kept taking them from each other—the most able keeping all to himself.

They next went to an island named "Bosney" where

¹ It would seem as though John Drake must have said "the pinnace made in Nicaragua" and that the secretary of the Inquisition made the mistake. It is noteworthy that he speaks most guardedly of California and entirely omits any allusion to the fact that Francis Drake took possession of the land and named it New Albion—an action which would scarcely meet with the approval of his Spanish examiners. It would seem as though either John Drake or the secretary was somewhat perturbed on this day, for instead of uniformly using the third person plural in describing events, this is alternately used with the third person singular as in the preceding and following sentences.

² Here again the wrong idea is conveyed that he went to California with two vessels, instead of his ship and the pinnace.

they stayed to take in water and fuel and then sailed towards the Moluccas. On the voyage they met a vessel from which they demanded provisions, saying that they were Englishmen and that they were in need and would either buy the victuals or take them. Those on board the vessel would not let them have anything, saying that "they were Lutherans." All that day and night and a part of the next day they chased that vessel, without being able to overtake her. Then she entered some shallows where Captain Francis did not dare to follow and so he left off and went on. They never learnt what people these were ; whether they were Portuguese or of some other nationality. From thence they sailed to another island and took from it two or three Indians to show them the route to the Moluccas. They carried these Indians with them until these islands were reached.

At one of these a half-breed Portuguese promised to guide them to a place where they could obtain provisions. As they were about to follow him a Moorish gentleman in his native dress, wearing a chain that appeared to be gold about his neck and some keys, hanging to a small silver chain, came on board and inquired for the Captain. When he learnt that it was the latter's intention to go with the Portuguese to get provisions, the Moor told him not to do so, because the Portuguese were deceitful people and that they had better go with him to the residence of his King, who would give them what they required.

So they went to an island named Terrenate where the King resided. They spoke with him and he had their vessel towed by a certain kind of galleys that they use to another harbour where there was a fortress. There they were given victuals and spice and cloves in exchange for linen and other things. They gave them no gold or silver. The Moorish King offered the island to Captain Francis, because the Englishmen said that their sovereign was a

brother¹ of the King of Spain and that the English were relatives of the Spaniards. Although the king begged Captain Francis to land and visit him and sent a brother of his as a hostage, the English would not let Captain Francis go ashore. Instead they sent other English gentlemen to see the King with the message that if the latter ever needed Captain Francis he would come to help and serve him². After this they departed from that country. The said King spoke much good of Magellan and of the Spaniards, saying that if they should come to his country his people would serve them and regale them.

After leaving Terrenate they sailed among many islands to one they named "of Crabs," because there they found many crabs on land, who breed without ever entering into the sea³. They also found many land lobsters, the flesh of which was very delicious to eat⁴. They remained there a month. There was no water on this island and they had to procure it from another that was large, near, and inhabited, deponent does not know by what people, because he never saw them near by. In the said island of Crabs they left a negress and the two negroes, one of whom had been taken at Païta and the other at Guatulco, and sailing from there among many islands and shoals their ship ran aground, and remained thus for twenty hours. They lightened her of all that was not silver and she afterwards got afloat.

¹ "hermano."

² See the letter written by the King of Ternate published in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, London, 1624, Lib. V, cap. IV, p. 704.

³ The first crustaceans alluded to were probably the remarkable Molucca King Crabs (*Limulus*, now called *Carcinoscorpius rotundicaudata*) which go ashore in May, June and July to breed, but must have been found in shallow pools at low tide at the season when Drake visited the Moluccas.

⁴ "Nor may we without ingratitude...omit to speake of the huge multitude of a certaine kind of Crayfish of such a size that one was sufficient to satisfie foure hungry men at a dinner..." (Fletcher, Vaux, p. 150).

They then navigated between many islands and shallows until they reached an island that was thickly populated with Indians and was called by them "Barratina." There they procured many native fruits. There were a great number of Indians there, who resembled those of this country [Peru]. They seemed to be very friendly to each other. Here they spent eight days. The said island lies in five deg. south. Leaving the islands behind them they sailed to seven deg. to the back of the island of Great Java. There two kings and many people came out and gave them some victuals in exchange for merchandise and expressed pleasure at the coming of the Englishmen. These Indians are fairer than the Indians here [Peru] and are clothed with a kind of shirt. During the month they spent there as many as nine kings came and entered the vessel, one by one, or two and two, and were much pleased with the music and the banquets that the Englishmen gave them.

Without touching any land they sailed from thence to the Cape of Good Hope in thirty-five deg. south and did not cast anchor because they found no harbour nor did the wind permit them to do so. They went on and doubled the cape and arrived at the Sierra de Leone on the Coast of Guinea, a thousand leagues distant from the Cape of Good Hope, in seven deg. north. There they procured a store of water and then, without touching anywhere they sailed to England and entered the same port of Plymouth from which they had sailed three years previously. It seems to deponent that they arrived there in October in the same year in which they had been on this [Pacific] Coast. On reaching Plymouth they inquired from some fishermen "How was the Queen?" and learnt that "She was in health, but that there was much pestilence in Plymouth." So they did not land, but Captain Drake's wife and the Mayor of the port came to see him on the ship. He dispatched a messenger to the Queen who was in London which was

sixty leagues distant, apprising her of his arrival and he wrote to other persons at Court who informed him that he was in Her Majesty's bad graces because she had already heard, by way of Peru and Spain, of the robberies he had committed. They also told him that the Spanish Ambassador was there at Court, and it was said that he was making a claim for what Francis Drake had taken¹.

Thereupon the latter left the port of Plymouth with the ship and, lying behind an island, waited until the Queen sent him word "that he was to go to Court and take her some samples of his labours and that he was to fear nothing." With this he went to Court by land, taking certain horses laden with gold and silver. All the rest he left in Plymouth in the custody of one of the principal men there. Deponent did not accompany him that time, but remained in Plymouth. The Queen ordered that forty thousand pesos were to be distributed among the men of the ship and that all the rest was to be transported to the Court. This was done, but deponent does not know whether the said Captain left some of the treasure at his house or not.

The time when Captain Francis took deponent to Court was when he went in his ship, because the Queen wanted to see the latter. When they arrived in London they unloaded the silver at the Tower and took the ship on land. The Queen said that they were to make a house wherein the ship could be preserved as a memorial. She named Captain Francis Sir Francis, which is the same as "Don," and received him well, showing him great honour. There was a day on which he conversed with the Queen nine times and people said "that no one had ever enjoyed such an honour." That was the time when deponent went to Court with the said Captain. During the year which deponent spent in England it was sometimes said that the

¹ See Part XII.

Queen wanted to restore the treasure to the King of Spain. Others said that she was going to send him the person of Captain Francis. Many other things were also said, but nothing was carried out.

To deponent they only gave some articles of clothing¹.

¹ It was probably prudence or fear that caused John Drake, in the presence of the Inquisitors, to disclaim having received a share of the treasure. Under the circumstances it would have been a dangerous admission to make.

II

PEDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA

HIS ACCOUNT OF WHAT THE CORSAIR FRANCISCO DID AND THE ROBBERIES HE COMMITTED ON THE COASTS OF CHILE AND PERU, AS WELL AS THE MEASURES THE VICEROY DON FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO ADOPTED AGAINST HIM¹

NOTE.

The writer of this narrative has been justly described by the Spanish historian, Cesáreo Fernandez Duro, as "a great mariner, cosmographer, cartographer, humanist, historian and antiquary²." A full biographical sketch of his life has been given by Sir Clements R. Markham in his introduction to the *Narratives of the Voyages of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to the Straits of Magellan*³.

¹ Relacion de lo que el corsario Drake hizo y robo en la costa de Chile y Peru y las diligencias que el Virey Don Francisco de Toledo, hizo contra el, 1578. Published in *Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España* (vol. 94, p. 432), in which no information is given as to the identity of the ecclesiastical dignitary to whom the *Relacion* was addressed, or as to the whereabouts of the original document. As my endeavours to find the latter were fruitless the above proves to be the only document of this collection of which the original has not been carefully examined by me. I deplore this fact all the more because it is evident that several errors, omissions and an interpolation exist in the Spanish published text, which are pointed out by me in footnotes.

In a note at the end of the *Relacion* (p. 458) the editors of the *Documentos Inéditos* mention that its date may be assigned to the interval of time between July 12th, 1579 [when Sarmiento returned to Lima], and October 11th, 1579, when he departed on his famous expedition to the Straits of Magellan. Under present circumstances this is indeed about as close an assignment of date as can be made.

² *Armada Española*, tomo ii, p. 253.

³ Hakluyt Society, vol. xci, 1895.

Referring the reader to this valuable publication, I shall but mention here a few facts, the first of which we owe to the indefatigable researches of Señor José Toribio Medina among the Archives of the Inquisition¹.

Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa was born about 1532 at Alcalá de Henares and was brought up at Pontevedra in Galicia, Spain. Like his ancestors who had spent their lives in the service of the Crown, Sarmiento entered military service at the age of eighteen and served for about five years in the wars of Spain in Europe. In 1555 he went to Mexico and thence to Guatemala and Peru, where he arrived in 1557. He seems to have spent the next four years in making voyages along the coast and studying the history of the Incas. In 1561 he entered the service of the newly arrived Viceroy Conde de Nieva who was mysteriously murdered at Lima in 1564. Soon after Sarmiento was seized by the Inquisition, tried for necromancy, etc., and took part in the auto-da-fé celebrated on May 8th, 1565, at Lima. He was sentenced to make public penance and abjuration *de levi*; to imprisonment and to perpetual exile from the Indies. After the lapse of a few days, however, the Archbishop commuted the two last clauses and gave him leave to absent himself from Lima.

In 1567 Sarmiento wrote a letter to King Philip II informing him of the offer he had made of his services to the whilom Governor of Peru for the discovery of unknown islands in the South Sea, and in the same year, as the Captain of Mendaña's flagship, he sailed on the famous expedition which, owing to his skill and guidance, resulted in the discovery of the Solomon Islands.

After the arrival of the Viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo, Sarmiento entered his service and aided and abetted in the crime of the judicial murder of young Tupac Amaru, the last of the Incas, in 1571. In the following year he, as "the most able man on this subject that I have found in the country," was employed by the Viceroy to make a map and write the history of the Incas which was sent to the King, and is now kept in the library of the University of Göttingen. In 1572 his persecution by the Inquisition recommenced and he was again found guilty, imprisoned and

¹ *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Inquisicion en Chile*, Santiago, 1890, tom. i, p. 310.

sentenced to banishment. The Viceroy Toledo, however, insisted upon his release, as a valuable servant of the Crown, and he was filling the position of captain and enjoying the Viceroy's favour when Francis Drake entered Callao de Lima in February.

In the following Narrative, which has been referred to and quoted by English historians, but of which no translation *in extenso* has as yet been published, Sarmiento recounts how he took part both in the first chase of Drake which was hurriedly undertaken in two ill-equipped ships, and in the second, which, it appears, might have been successful if his and the Admiral's ardently advocated scheme of crossing the Gulf of Panama and intercepting Drake off the coast of Nicaragua had been carried out. The value of the present important document, which is enhanced by its literary style, consists not only in the fact that Sarmiento took a leading and active part in the expeditions he describes, but that he also gives, with the skill of a practised historian, a summary of the evidence which he personally gathered from the released prisoners of Drake.

Illustrious and Most Reverend Sir,

On Friday, February thirteenth, 1578, between ten o'clock and midnight, the ship of some English Corsairs, with a pinnace and skiff arrived at the port of Callao de Lima. Entering between the ships that lay at anchor there, the Corsairs enquired for the ship of Miguel Angel, for they had learnt that many bars of silver had been embarked on her. On boarding her they found however that she did not contain the riches they expected, for the silver had not yet been carried aboard. They then went in the pinnace and skiff from vessel to vessel. They cut the cables of seven of the nine vessels that were lying at anchor there, so that they should drift and not be able to follow them.

When they reached the ship of Alonso Rodriguez Baptista¹, which had just arrived from Panamá with a

¹ In the official document No. 2, in appendix to Part III, p. 128, the name of this ship is recorded as the "San Cristobal" and the name of

cargo of Castilian stuffs, they boarded her, shooting many arrows at her sailors and pilot. The said Alonso Rodriguez was wounded by an arrow and it is said that one Englishman was killed. The Englishmen seized the ship with all her cargo, and carrying her with their ship, pinnace and skiff, set sail around the island of the port towards the north-west. They were able to do this in safety because the inhabitants of the coast by which they had come had not made haste in sending information to the Viceroy. While the English Corsairs were plundering the ship, the sailors who had escaped went on land giving the alarm. As soon as this was received, the inhabitants of the port, especially the royal officers and the chief governor, mustered the people so as to repel the Corsairs, and sent dispatches to the Viceroy who was in Lima, at two leagues of the port, and who received them one hour after midnight.

He reported to His Excellency what had happened in the port and His Excellency, with great dispatch, armed himself and ordered the gentlemen and his retainers to do the same. The bells were rung to give the alarm and criers were sent from door to door to explain what had occurred and to summon all inhabitants to assemble in the public square, where His Excellency took his stand¹.

Meanwhile he had been going to and fro, attending to

¹ It is to Juan de Bardales, a retainer of the Viceroy, that we owe the picturesque detail that His Excellency rode to the square on horse-back, clad in armour and carrying the Royal Standard. He also relates that, "within an hour, the Viceroy set out on the road to Callao at the head of two hundred armed men, so as to defend and guard the port." On seeing that the Viceroy had set out with the said men, to succour the port of Callao, the Judges of the Royal Court at Lima sent a mounted courier after him with a dispatch requesting him, with great insistence, to return and not leave the city of Lima unprotected until it was known, for a certainty, who the invaders were. For they feared that as they might be men from Chile rising in rebellion against the Spanish Government more of them might come by land who, finding Lima "alone and without armed men might seize, sack and take possession of it."

The depositions of Bardales are referred to in the prefatory note to Part III, p. 90.

everything. When the entire population had assembled in the square His Excellency mustered them and, as many had no arquebuses, he had the armoury opened and distributed many arquebuses, pikes and provisions of ammunition. While this was being done he received information that the Corsairs who had arrived were English. Until then it had not been known for certain to what nation they belonged, and many surmises had been made. Thereupon he sent the General Diego de Frias Trejo with his men to defend the port of Callao and guard the King's money which was about to be embarked and consisted of more than two hundred thousand pesos in bars of silver. The General departed and reached Callao in all possible haste, but the English Corsair was already far out at sea, although he could still be seen from land, taking with him the ship of Alonso Rodriguez Baptista. As the General considered it advisable to go after the Corsair to recapture the prize he was taking, and as those who accompanied him approved of this, two vessels were designated, one being that of Miguel Angel¹. As soon as the men arrived from Lima they embarked in both ships. Three hundred men, more or less, thus embarked, all with a great desire to chastise the Corsair, just as though it were each man's private affair. The General embarked in Miguel Angel's ship, which thus became the *Capitana* [or flagship]. Pedro de Arana embarked as Admiral [and Camp Master] in the other [which became the *Almiranta* or second in command], and thus we sailed after the Corsairs who were already more than four leagues out of the port, towards the north-west. When the *Capitana* came under the lee of the island, the wind fell and she was detained a long while,

¹ Miguel Angel was the master and pilot of the ship named "Nuestra Señora del Valle." The master of the second ship was Cristobal Hernandez and the Admiral refers to it, in his official deposition, as the "Nao de Muriles."

whereas the *Almiranta*, which followed, overtook and passed ahead because as she sailed further from the island her sails caught more wind. It was afterwards known that when the English Corsair saw vessels coming out of the port he inquired of the Spaniards on his ship what vessels could they be? They answered that it seemed to them that they were some ships coming after the vessels whose moorings he had cut and that in order to take them back they were tacking about. When the Englishmen saw this they took great care, nevertheless, to watch what course we were taking.

When they saw that we were adopting the same as theirs and that we had already cleared the island and reached the open sea, the Corsair Francis realised the truth. Dissembling, he said to the sailors whom he had taken prisoners that he would now release them according to his previous promise. He ordered them to enter the merchant ship which he had seized and to return in her to the port. He sent them to the merchant ship in the pinnace and gave order that the Englishmen who had been working that vessel were to return in the said pinnace. As these Englishmen delayed in returning, and as he saw that we were in pursuit, he jumped into his skiff and went to the vessel, wrangling with his men. These all jumped into the pinnace and went to their ship in fear that they might be overtaken by the two vessels that were pursuing them. The merchant ship, with four or five of the liberated sailors, returned towards the port. After collecting his men, the Englishman spread his top-gallant sails and took flight towards the north-west.

When the merchant vessel returned to port, our *Almiranta* went and spoke with her and then followed the Englishman for a whole day. At sunset she was almost out of sight, and had gained headway because our vessels were without ballast, and, being crank, could not bear sail

and pitched with the moving about of the men, thus navigating very slowly. Moreover the English ship, being further out at sea, caught a stiffer breeze and sailed on the wind. Notwithstanding all this, although at dusk we lost sight of her, we did not give up pursuing her during a great part of the night. And those of the *Almiranta*, having sent to the merchant ship for a mariner named Juan Griego, who had come with the Englishman from Chile, ascertained from him that the English vessel was large and strong and carried seventy-five or eighty men and many pieces of artillery, beside many fire-instruments. Having learnt this Pedro de Arana and several of those on the *Almiranta* went during the night to the *Capitana* and held a consultation with the General and other gentlemen as to whether they should continue to follow the enemy or go back to the port so as to get reinforcements and be able to return better prepared to pursue the chase.

It was the General's view that they should continue to follow the enemy, but many held a contrary opinion and argued that it was advisable to return to harbour, the principal reasons they gave being the defectiveness of the vessels and the fact that they carried no food whatever and not sufficient artillery and ammunition or fire-instruments to cope with the English, who were many in number. Our men would be running a great risk on this account and also because the ships, carrying no ballast, could not possibly catch up with the enemy. Even if they did so our men would certainly be injured by the enemy's artillery, for our ships carried nothing but arquebuses to use against him. Moreover, the most imperative reason for returning seemed to be that many of the gentlemen were very seasick and were not in a condition to stand, much less to fight. Yet there were many who were capable of doing both. Finally, at the end of much discussion, it was resolved to return in order to obtain reinforcements so

as to sally forth again, better equipped to attack the enemy. Thus they returned. A certain Juan Griego¹ and three other mariners who had been taken by the Corsair in Chile and other parts and had been left by the Englishman in the merchant ship [of Alonso Rodriguez Baptista], on being questioned about the Englishmen, declared as follows²:

"The first they had learnt was that the ship was English and carried seventy or eighty men, the chief of whom was named Francisco Draquez, a medium sized man, robust and a great mariner and cosmographer. It was he who some years ago had robbed much silver in Chagres and Cruces. The Englishmen said that they had sailed from Plymouth, England, by order of the Queen of that country, with five ships and three launches, carrying five hundred men. Before reaching the Strait of Magellan two of these were lost in a storm. The others entered the strait and sailed through it, coming across very tall natives. After entering the South Sea the three ships and three launches navigated along the coast towards Chile and in 44 deg. they took in water. On sailing from there to the open sea they encountered a strong norther, which drove them towards the south-west without their being able to hoist a sail for twenty-four days. In this storm the two other ships

¹ Juan Griego was the boatswain of "La Capitana" which was seized at Santiago. See John Drake's account of the seizure of this ship, p. 44.

² Marginal note: "Antonio Corço says that he was taken prisoner by the Englishman Francisco Draquez and heard the Englishmen relate that they had left England with five ships, by command of the Queen of England, of London. They entered the strait in April and spent three months therein, namely May, June and July, without ever seeing the sun. The cold was so great that it crippled some of them.

"They found very tall natives there and had fought with them. Towards the South Sea they had found smaller sized natives, who gave them fish, maize and potatoes." It is stated by the editors of *Documentos Inéditos* that this note is in Sarmiento's handwriting as well as the title of the document and its last portion.

and three launches disappeared, and although this occurred six months ago they have never seen them since."

On the other hand in the account sent to His Excellency from Chile, it is related that after having entered the South Sea, one of the vessels was lost and that the other only disappeared one day before the fight with the Indians at the Island of Mocha. The first version was given me by the said witnesses and by San Juan de Anton, who was seized and was with them six days. He signed it as well as the following testimony which is: "that after this storm had ceased the ships of the Corsair Francis running with the said norther, sighted certain large islands, but he did not land on them. He went as far as 66 deg. towards the south-east, which is 14 deg. farther south than the Strait of Magellan. Afterwards when the weather permitted it, he returned and followed a north-easterly course until he reached the coast of Chile where he reached the port of Valdivia, but did not enter it. From thence he went to the island of Mocha which is inhabited by Indians, and landed to get water; but the Indians attacked him and killed his pilot and surgeon and wounded nine or ten. The chief was wounded by arrows, one of which entered his head, the other his face. There was one man who received twenty-five arrow wounds, another twenty-three.

"From there they followed the coast of Chile and cast anchor at the port of Quintero, six leagues from the port of Santiago, and there they took an Indian from whom they learnt that they had left Valparaiso, the port of Santiago, six leagues behind them. Taking this Indian as a guide they entered the harbour of Valparaiso on Friday, December fifth, 1578, at noon and cast anchor in the middle of the bay as far forward as the beach of Anton Gonzalez.

"The Corsair sent the skiff with eighteen Englishmen, arquebusiers, archers and men with shields, to seize a merchant vessel that lay at anchor in the port and was

named "La Capitana" because she had served as such in the voyage of discovery to the Solomon Islands¹. She was about to sail for Peru and had on board five sailors and two negroes. The Englishmen entered her and took the sailors below deck and locked them up. Then some of them went to fetch their chief, the Corsair Drake, who went to "La Capitana" and placed guards in her. Some men went ashore, and broke open the warehouses, thinking that they would find gold, but instead they only found wine, flour, salt pork, lard and suet. They took one thousand and seven hundred jars of wine and whatever else they wanted and transferred all to "La Capitana," in which they found twenty-four thousand pesos of gold as was entered in the register carried by its master and pilot Hernando Lamero. On Saturday, the sixth of December, at noon, the English Corsair set sail, taking "La Capitana" and the plunder with him. He placed twenty-five men in her to guard and navigate her, and on the following Sunday, in the afternoon, they cast anchor in the port of Quintero, six leagues from Valparaiso, and sent ashore the Indian they had seized.

"The Englishmen took the sea-chart of the pilot of "La Capitana" and guided themselves by it from port to port.

"From Quintero they came to the bay of Tanquey to take in water and not finding any proceeded to the port of La Herradura where both ships cast anchor and took in a supply of water and pigs. While on shore they heard an arquebuse shot inland and inferred that Spaniards were there. The Englishmen on board stationed a sentinel in the crow's nest and at noon Drake came out of his cabin and perceived on land a horseman followed by about fifty

¹ Sarmiento, the writer of the narrative, had been in command of the flagship of this expedition.

or sixty others and by Indians. Francis signalled to his men on shore to withdraw to a rock that was near and to which they could wade. Whilst they were doing so the Spaniards reached the shore and the last Englishman¹ who had remained behind to assemble the others was reached and killed by the Spaniards. But the Englishman was the first to discharge his arquebuse and he also drew his sword to defend himself. When the Englishmen had reached the rock Francis sent the launch in which they all entered and went to the ship which immediately set sail. The English ship nearly ran aground on a shoal near certain islands and for this reason did not enter the port of Coquimbo as had been intended. Proceeding they cast anchor off the northernmost of the Islas de Pajaros [Bird Islands] and then sailed into the Bahia Salada where they remained for forty days. During that time he built a launch and made her sails, also greased and rigged his ship and placed the artillery on deck which had hitherto been carried below deck. When he was about to careen his ship it nearly capsized and he saved her by means of the burton-tackle².

"Whilst they were stationed there Spaniards from Coquimbo went to observe them two or three times but could not attack them.

"From thence he sailed with the two ships and with the launch sailing ahead to look for the port of Copiapo which they failed to see and therefore passed by without obtaining water or anything. About eleven leagues further on they landed at a small island where they found four *Camanchaca* Indians whom they took to the ship where they gave them food and other things so that they should guide them to a place where they could procure water.

¹ Richard Minivy. See p. 44, note 1.

² The device resorted to was that of anchoring the end of this tackle, which is attached to the main-mast, and thus sustaining the ship.

"On the following day they landed but were unable to obtain water and proceeded to the Morro de Jorje where they spent two days greasing the launch and boat. A *Camanchaca* Indian came hither and brought them some fish for which they gave him some knives and other things. Drake himself went ashore and caught a quantity of fish two or three leagues further on. At this Morro de Jorje the Corsair sent ashore, in an Indian canoe, an Englishman who spoke several languages. While on land this Englishman began to shout, telling those in the launch that the Indians there had seen two other English ships pass by during the time when Francisco was at the Morro de Jorje¹. From thence they departed, carrying the Indian who had brought them fish and they landed him at Compisi, also named Paquiza, fifteen leagues from Morro Moreno, giving him many things as presents.

"Proceeding they reached the Pisagua river, and in order to find water they employed as a guide an Indian whom they had taken in a fishing boat. On entering the river they found on land a Spaniard who had fallen asleep on his way from Potosi, with three thousand pesos of silver in bars, certain native sheep and much *charqui*². They seized him and robbing him of all he had, conveyed it to the ship. Departing thence they sailed all night and went to the port of Arica where they found two ships, one belonging to Felipe Corço, in which they took thirty-three bars of silver, and the other to Jorje Diaz in which they found no silver and to which they set fire³. The inhabitants of the village were summoned by the ringing of bells and armed themselves. The English ship shot some artillery at the village.

¹ False report. See pp. 78, 113, 153.

² *Charqui*, from *charquican*, a word commonly used in S. America for sun-dried beef.

³ According to John Drake and da Silva this was done without orders from Drake. See also deposition of Jorje Diaz, p. 135.

During the night trumpets were blown and musical instruments were played on board.

"In the morning they seized three fishing boats and in one of them they sent ashore three Spaniards whom they had taken in Chile and ten or twelve Indians. These three Spaniards went along the coast in the fishing boat giving warning, and thus the warning reached the port of Chule¹ where the ship of Bernal Bueno lay at anchor containing five hundred bars of His Majesty's gold, destined for Lima. These were immediately disembarked and buried, and thus they escaped being robbed. In a short time the Englishmen in their two vessels and a launch arrived and as they found no silver they departed carrying with them Bernal Bueno's ship and "La Capitana" which they cast adrift in the open sea.

"Off Quilca they took a trading bark, with some money and clothing and transferred her crew to their ship. They reached the island of Lima and entered by the South Channel, between the island and the point, being guided by the mariner Juan Griego of "La Capitana" who had been brought from Chile. They entered the port without being perceived nor had any warning been received by the Viceroy over land or sea such as could easily have been sent, for there had been ample time for doing so.

"The official authorities of Chile are not to blame, for they sent notice to the Viceroy that the Englishmen had sailed from the port of Callao; but the warning only reached Lima a fortnight later. The Indians and Spaniards on this coast of Peru were to blame for not taking any trouble to inform His Excellency, although they had ample time to do so."

Of all that happened as related above in the port of Callao, from the time when the ships left in pursuit

¹ Chule, a port in Peru, province of Arequipa, 9 kilometers N.W. of the port of Hilo.

of the Englishmen and returned, the General Diego de Frias informed His Excellency, reporting to him everything.

As soon as His Excellency, with great sorrow, heard of the return of the ships he immediately came from the city to the port. When some of the gentlemen attempted to land without the licence of the General, the Licentiate Recalde, Judge of the Royal Court, who had assisted at the embarkation of the men, obliged them to return to their ship. The Viceroy issued an order that no one was to land under pain of death and then ordered the arrest of certain residents of Lima who were on the *Almiranta* and commanded Alvaro de Mendaño and the Camp Master, Pedro de Arana, to detain the other men on their ships for several days without allowing them to disembark.

During this time the Viceroy sent for the General and chief officers of the flagship, and censured and reproved them, in a certain way, for what had occurred¹.

Endeavouring to rectify what had happened, he proposed to send a thoroughly equipped fleet in pursuit of the Corsair, to insure the safety of the coast of these kingdoms. In the meantime he dispatched in all haste a bark with certain men, to go from port to port as far as Panama, giving warning.

Thereupon His Excellency nominated as officers of the fleet Don Luis de Toledo as his Lieutenant-General; Diego de Frias Trejo as Camp Master² and Admiral; Pedro

¹ Juan de Bardales relates what Sarmiento (being one of the officers reproved) passes over in silence, namely, that when, on the following day, which was Sunday, the 15th of February, the Viceroy learnt that the two ships he had sent in pursuit of the Englishman had returned without overtaking or attacking him, he went at once to Callao and would not permit the captains and soldiers to land but had them all arrested and tried. The chief officers were condemned to severe punishments—some being sentenced to exile, others to pay heavy fines.

The Viceroy then "took great trouble to have certain pieces of artillery cast," and it was in connection with this endeavour that he dispatched an officer to the Inquisition prison to ascertain whether John Oxenham or his companions could be of use to him in the manufacture of pieces of artillery.

² "Maese de Campo."

Sarmiento as Sergeant-Major; Juan de Arrieta as Ensign-General¹; Miguel Angel as Chief Pilot of the fleet; and Gaspar Lopez and Carlos de Malvenda as Purveyors.

He had two vessels fitted out, and when they had been provided with all necessaries he ordered one hundred and twenty soldiers to embark, beside the sailors. On Friday, February twenty-seventh, 1579, we embarked, and it was then that His Excellency transferred the title of Camp Master to Pedro de Arana.

All the men left with a great desire to fight the enemy but with little hope of being able to overtake him, for he already had a start of fifteen days. After going out to sea they began to parley with all ships they met and to run along the coast, exploring ports and points with a sailing launch that we took with us for this purpose. When we arrived at Santa we learnt that the Corsair had passed by there a fortnight previously and that, beyond the port of Trujillo, he had seized the bark of a certain Cataro and had taken from her what he wished. We therefore immediately started for the port of Trujillo, having also heard that six days previously a great vessel with a sprit-sail, which was believed to be the pirate-ship, was thereabouts. It happened that in that vicinity we saw a sail, and in view of the information we possessed, we bore down upon her to reconnoitre her, but she turned out to be a merchant's bark.

Passing onwards we arrived at Payta on March tenth and learnt that the Corsair had entered and left the port a fortnight previously and after taking certain jars of wine and a native canoe from a bark belonging to the pilot Custodio, and carrying the latter with him had set sail immediately. He had not even cast anchor, for he had learnt that a pilot named San Juan de Anton had started

¹ "Alferez general."

ahead of him on the previous day from the same port, with many bars of silver.

Realising that we would incur the danger of further delays if we entered the harbour of Guayaquil to fetch the galley which, according to His Excellency's orders, was to accompany us, we forwarded His Excellency's dispatches to Guayaquil from Payta ordering the galley to make haste to follow and join us. Following the coast we proceeded and arrived off the point of Santa Elena on March 13th. The General sent men in the launch to explore the port and obtain information, but there was not a single ship in the harbour, and a letter written by the inn-keeper was found in which he stated that he was fleeing on account of the news about the Englishmen¹.

A letter was left behind for him recording that our fleet had been there. From thence the fleet went to the port of Manta where we cast anchor on March 17th, and found two ships lying at anchor. One of these was that of Bravo who, on his way from Guayaquil to Panama, carrying gold, had been robbed by the Englishmen off the rivers of the Quiximies, five leagues from the Cape of San Francisco. They had taken from him fifteen thousand pesos in gold, belonging to private merchants, as well as all the clothing and food they wished from certain trunks.

The Corsair made experiments in sailing with the bark, but as she sailed faster on the wind than his own ship he wrapped her sails around her anchor and cast them into the sea so that she could not sail ahead and give warning.

He released the men and the bark, permitting them to go back, and giving them a little coarse linen to make the small sail, with which Bravo came to Manta. These men related that like a shameless robber who fears not

¹ "Andaba huido por la nueva de los ingleses."

God or man, the Corsair made many arrogant speeches, saying that San Juan de Anton could not escape him.

Therefore the Admiral and the Sergeant-Major [Sarmiento] agreed that it would be advisable, in order to make some headway in the pursuit of the Corsair, to cross over from Manta to Nicaragua. The Admiral proposed this to the General while he, with others, was on shore at Manta, begging them all to carry out this plan and insisting that there was no other possible way of making haste to overtake the Englishman.

The Admiral and the Sergeant-Major, suspecting that the General would probably answer that there was no commission authorising them to adopt that course, carefully looked into His Excellency's instructions to see whether they contained any clause which would allow it. They found one which read: "As you are to pursue them by sea and by land," which seemed to grant sufficient authority for adopting the proposed route. The Admiral and the Sergeant-Major therefore went to the *Capitana* and conferred with the General who gave as answer that he would go to the *Almiranta* on the following day and would then take a resolution in the matter. He duly came then, with the Camp Master and when the subject was discussed there arose differences of opinion.

The General and the Camp Master maintained that they had no instructions for this and that the Englishman would surely go to Panama or to the Gulf of San Miguel or return to the coast beyond to commit more robberies and lie in wait for some other ship laden with silver which might come down the coast. For these reasons it did not seem to them expedient to leave this coast unguarded.

The Admiral and Sergeant-Major maintained that the said clause authorised the proposal which was the most advisable.

Pedro Sarmiento stated that, for reasons of navigation,

the Corsair could not escape any other way than by the coast of Nicaragua and New Spain and that he would not go to the Gulf of San Miguel because he was acquainted with the fact that Pedro de Ortega was there with soldiers. Besides the Corsair knew what had happened there to other Englishmen who had attempted to enter and leave by that route¹. Moreover he would not wish to lose his ship which was carrying such a store of artillery, arms and ammunition. Neither this nor the silver could be carried on men's shoulders [across the Isthmus] even though they had ever so much more help than what they might get there.

Sarmiento argued that it was not to be believed that the Corsair would dare to return by the northern coast of Peru because he had left all the country in tumult and up in arms. Besides, anyone who had seen how quickly the two ships set out from Lima against him must suspect (even though he saw the said ships turn back) that so powerful a country must be backed by a fleet. Therefore after having once escaped from the dangers which menaced him he will not advisedly run risks again, and the richer he is the greater must be his fear to lose his booty.

It is likewise known that this Corsair knew and discussed that he had no other outlet but the coast of Nicaragua and New Spain, which will also have been told him by the Portuguese pilot he carries. For the latter is well acquainted with this coast as he has navigated it for a long time. He is the same Portuguese who twenty-one years ago seized thirty thousand pesos of gold which had been delivered to him in Guayaquil to transport to Panama. He ran off with this sum and has never been heard of since, until now when he was recognised by the pilots who were taken aboard the Englishman's ship.

¹ Alluding to the recent seizure of Oxenham and his companions.

The Corsair will have learnt from him that on all that coast there are no Spanish settlements or Indians who could offer resistance or harm him. Nor are there any ships which could follow him. Therefore he could land or enter ports wheresoever he willed, knowing also, that no news of his coming could be given beforehand and that he could freely rob the few ships which trade with cacao and usually carry quantities of money to Sonsonate, as well as some vessels coming from the Philippines laden with gold and articles of great value. For such things are greatly coveted by pirates.

To these considerations must be added that about the safety of his voyage. From the present month of March onwards, until September, summer and the hot season prevail as far north as the Cape Mendocino in forty-three deg. That would be the shortest and quickest route for getting from this sea to his country, and while this route is not familiar to the pilots here, because they do not ordinarily navigate in that region, it is not unknown to the cosmographers and particularly to the English who navigate to Iceland, Bacallaos, Labrador, Totilan and Norway. For to them it is familiar and they are not afraid of navigating very far north.

As this Corsair has, moreover, navigated in the aforesaid parts and is so well versed in all modes of navigation, it may be inferred and believed that he also must know about all this. A man who has had the spirit to do what he has done will not be lacking in courage to persevere in his attempt, especially as he can take advantage, at present, of its being summer in the polar regions. He also has the prospect of reaping gain from the ships he may be able to take.

As, for the aforesaid reasons, the above is what should be inferred [about the Corsair's movements] it would be

an impossibility to overtake him by following him along this coast to Panama.

When this plan was discussed in Manta, nineteen days had already elapsed since he had seized the bark of Bravo, which was done the same day on which we left Lima with the fleet. Between the Quiximies, where he seized the bark, and Panama there lie twelve or thirteen days of slow sailing. If the Corsair went to Panama, whether he caught up with San Juan de Anton or not, he will have reached Perico six days ago. By adding to this the twelve or thirteen days which our fleet will require to reach there, the number of days gained by the Englishman amount to eighteen and he will have already started, by that time, on his way to Nicaragua, for, with the prevalent breezes he will have sailed more than four hundred leagues¹.

In order to cut short a part of this route the best way would be to cross over, as has been proposed, which would mean a crossing of twelve days, by means of which a number of days would be gained.

If he, by chance, has made this crossing before reaching Perico then it would be even more necessary and effective for this fleet to cross over. The higher we would go the better, for if he had not arrived at the coast when we did we could return along the coast looking for him and we will have, at all events, adopted the most speedy route possible.

All these conclusions met with the approval of all the men on the *Almiranta* and of many on the *Capitana*, more especially those who were seamen, all of whom volunteered with good will to undertake the said voyage. On the following day the General and Camp Master came to the *Almiranta* and conversed about this. As the Admiral and Sergeant-Major were of the aforesaid

¹ The next three words are unintelligible, and read "á no nada."

opinion, as they had indeed been always, the General and Camp Master adopted a contrary one. Finally, it was resolved by the General that we were to go as far as the Cape of San Francisco and that there we would decide what was to be done. His Excellency [the Viceroy] was written to accordingly.

On that day, which was the nineteenth of March, the fleet departed from Manta, and when near the Cape of San Francisco the ships approached each other to parley. Then the Chief Pilot informed the Admiral that the General had said that two leagues further on, at the Point "de la Galera," they would confer about what was to be done about this matter. On the next day, although the Point "de la Galera" was reached, the General did not treat of the subject until the next day when, arriving off the Point "de Manglares" seventeen leagues further along, the ships assembled. Then the Admiral informed Miguel Angel that the General had resolved to go to Panama and not to undertake the crossing. Miguel Angel explained by signs that he knew nothing about this and the Sergeant-Major [Sarmiento] said, "What was the good of proposing one thing and not doing it and such was the way that half-dead men acted?" This was transmitted in a somewhat modified form¹ to the General and he sent his skiff to fetch the Admiral and Sergeant-Major. Then the General and Camp Master sustained their view with the reasoning already given above. The Admiral endeavoured to obtain that the crossing be made. Pedro Sarmiento seconded the Admiral, demonstrating to the Chief Pilot who was present that, for reasons of navigation, the Corsair had only certain exits from this South Sea, and therefore would not return by the Strait of Magellan. As to the crossing Pedro

¹ "Lo cual dijeran al General aunque algo glosado."

Sarmiento offered to guide them across and direct the navigation, stating that if he made an error in doing so they might cut his head off. But a mistake had already been made in not having undertaken the crossing before, for they were already too low down to be able to make the crossing successfully, as they would have to diverge a great deal and therefore would not be taking one direct route or the other.

And so the General determined to go to Panama, following the coast of La Gorgona and reconnoitring all points far inland.

The boat with men went to explore the port "de Pinos" because it was suspected that something might be there, but no ship was found, and only some vestiges of Indians or Cimmaron negroes.

On the 30th the Admiral reached, ahead of the General, the island "Del Rey" in the group of "Las Perlas," and on sending ashore for news learnt that the Englishmen had taken San Juan de Anton and all the silver he carried.

On the following day the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* met and proceeded together to Perico, the port of Panama, where San Juan de Anton came out to the fleet and after informing me that he had been robbed by the Englishman, spoke as follows¹:

This fleet remained in Panama until April 13th, during which period the Judges [of the Royal Court] gave us no succour whatsoever of victuals, of which we had great need. During this time news reached Panama that off the coast of Peru, two other English ships had appeared².

¹ San Juan de Anton's testimony, which belongs here, will be found printed with his deposition made before the Royal Court of Panama in Part IV, p. 155.

² See about this false alarm, pp. 79, 80 and 153, and the other false report, given to an Englishman, pp. 68, 95, 126, 148 and 153.

Consequently the Court of Panama fitted out a ship which was to accompany this fleet, saying that they did this so that we could go with greater strength to take offensive measures against the Englishmen if we chanced to meet them.

Then it became known that this report was untrue, for which reason the Accountant Viveros requested the Judges not to dispatch the ship, as there was no necessity for doing so. But the Judges insisted upon sending her and appointed as her Captain a nephew of the Judge Cerda, named Canales.

When this fleet had sailed from Lima the Viceroy had, by way of punishment, shifted the highest military posts and appointed the officers enumerated above, but with orders that Don Luis de Toledo was to remain in Panama so as to go on to Spain and that he was then to deliver over the fleet to Diego de Frias who was to return with it, as its General, to Lima.

Accordingly Don Luis remained and Diego de Frias took command of the fleet and Pedro Sarmiento, mustering the men, embarked them all, against the will of the Judges who wished to detain the fleet, awaiting the ship of Canales which was being fitted out, although this was unnecessary, it being already known that there were no other English ships, as reported.

Thus, taking along five pieces of artillery which Diego de Frias had left there from the previous military expedition in Vallano, this fleet sailed from Perico, the port of Panama, on April thirteenth. In less than five days the *Almiranta* fell off from the *Capitana* and each one went her way.

The *Capitana* reached the Point of Santa Elena on the third of May, in great necessity of victuals. Here we received news that three English ships were coming along the coast of Arica, robbing and killing people, for which

reason we made great haste to obtain by purchase provisions of water and victuals, keeping a close watch of land and sea.

As we were about to set out to search higher up along the coast for the Englishmen, we discovered, towards the south, two sails and put our ship in fighting order. The Sergeant-Major with some arquebusiers went in a boat to reconnoitre and recognised that one of the ships was our own *Almiranta* and the other the one from Panama. We sent them orders from the General not to cast anchor at the point but to pass on.

On arriving off Mancora we met a bark and from her master we learnt that the report about the Englishman was false and that all the coast was safe. Thus we went to Payta and from thence to Santa, where our *Capitana* arrived on the twelfth of June; the *Almiranta* on the thirteenth and San Juan de Anton's ship on the fifteenth, with Canales as her captain. While in this port of Santa, on July seventeenth, a parcel of letters arrived from the Royal Court of Panama for the Viceroy, containing one letter for the General which read as follows:

"Since Your Honour sailed from this port we had not heard of the success of your fleet or of the English Corsairs until four days ago when, by a ship dispatched by His Excellency [the Viceroy] we learnt that three ships, of English Lutherans, had been seen off the coast of Chile and had arrived at Loa where they seized some Indians who were there.

"The Viceroy heard this from the governor of the district of Arica, without further details, but this is enough to establish as a certainty that these English ships are those which came in the company of Captain Francis and were separated from him by a storm on their coming out of the Strait of Magellan.

"When this letter reaches the hands of Your Honour we

trust that you will be better informed of this and that it will have pleased Our Lord to give you good success, for this is a fine opportunity for the fleet to distinguish itself.

"On this very day, the eighth of May, news has come that Captain Francis, with his ship, reached the coast of Nicaragua on the twentieth of March and careened his ship and took in a supply of water at the island named Caño, twenty leagues from Nicoya. While he was there, at the end of the month, he robbed a small ship which was on her way to this city, releasing the men who were on board and letting them go freely to the port of Nicoya. He took from them the merchandise and victuals and the small ship herself and seized and carried off with him, by force, one¹ of the two experts for the route of China who were being sent by the Viceroy of New Spain on the expedition that is to be undertaken from this port by order of His Majesty. He also took the map and description of that route which the Viceroy sent and the parcels of letters addressed to this Court.

"He gave the persons whom he robbed to understand that he was preparing to take the route of China. This is what the said persons heard him say. He left them his launch telling them that he would not require her any more, but in her stead he carried off the said bark which he had taken. The pilots with whom the Corsair held communication think that there is no doubt that the latter will winter on yonder coast because the season for navigation to China is now past as winter has come on and the winds are contrary. It is for these reasons that they have taken the route to Acapulco. These same persons also certify that his ship was in great need of being careened and caulked, for she was leaking much notwithstanding the overhauling that had been given her at the island of Caño.

¹ Colchero, for whose deposition see p. 193.

The Corsair evinced an intention to take more time to repair his ship.

"Therefore Your Honour will have time to descend upon yonder coast in quest of him and it is thus that it has seemed to this Royal Audiencia that you should do, with the two vessels that Your Honor took from Peru and the one this Royal Court sent to sail under their convoy. The Royal Court considers that this and no other course should be adopted.

"Your Honour lost a great opportunity in not going to yonder coast after reaching that city, as, it is said, the Viceroy had given instructions for you to do so. If you had done so you could have reached the island of Caño during the period of five days, in which the Englishmen were there, off their guard, careening their ship. During that time all of their artillery and other things had been taken out of the ship and were heaped in the bark which therefore they could not have used. This was on March the twenty-third and it was on the twenty-eighth that they proceeded on their course. You would also have been in time if after sailing from here you had run along that coast as this Royal Court had ordered you to do.

"Although this time and opportunity have been lost it would not be right to give up proceeding with the fleet. We have written to this effect to His Excellency the Viceroy.

"For it is very certain that the Corsair must delay there until the winter is past and the said pilots actually heard him affirm that he was going to await his companions so that they could proceed together.

"This further confirms that he will make a stay there and that this will afford time for Your Honour to go thither.

"On account of the lack of artillery and several things that we are expecting from outside of this city we have

not finished furnishing the other ships which this Royal Audience is preparing to be sent against the Corsair. They will be dispatched as soon as they are ready to depart.

"When we know for certain where the fleet is we shall go on sending information about further happenings.

"May Our Lord guard etc....

"The Royal Court of Panama, signed :

"Doctor Alonso Criado de Castilla,

"Doctor Cáceres,

"The Licentiate Gonzalo Nuñez de la Cerda."

This letter covered with great confusion those who had contradicted the opinion of Pedro Sarmiento and Diego de Frias that they should have crossed from Manta to Nicaragua and the island of Caño and it made them understand and become convinced how proper it would have been to have crossed over and how harmful it was to have abstained from carrying out this plan.

In this letter from the Royal Court of Panamá there are some noteworthy points which should be referred to and explained.

The first is the statement that the Corsair reached the island of Caño on the 20th of March and spent five days there in careening his ship and, at the end of the month, seized a small ship.

From this it is obvious that it would have been proper to cross over from Manta as Pedro Sarmiento and Diego de Frias and many others of the *Almiranta* and her pilots and sailors endeavoured to do. This plan was abandoned because General Don Luis de Toledo, the Camp Master Pedro de Arana and the Chief Pilot Miguel Angel would not carry it out. The probabilities of the success that could have been obtained if we had crossed are as follows.

On departing from the port of Manta (on March 18th) we would have gone on the beaten track to the Realejo of Nicaragua which ordinarily takes ten or twelve days,

sometimes less. Therefore by adding these twelve days to the date March 18th, we obtain the thirtieth day of March on which we would have arrived at the Realejo.

The Royal Court states that it was about that date that the Corsair left the island of Caño, taking the route of Acapulco. Therefore our fleet would have got ahead of him with an advantage of a hundred and twenty leagues; would have given news of his coming and awaited him. It would have been impossible to miss finding him either at anchor or sailing¹, and we would have been able to choose our mode of proceeding against him. Therefore, with the help of God we would have had a certain victory because, given the weather and the opportunity that offered itself to us at Manta, this was the final and most necessary endeavour that should have been made.

In answer to what is stated in the letter from the Royal Court about the pilot's opinion that the Corsair would be obliged to winter on yonder coast, [I say] that those pilots are entirely mistaken, like men who are unfamiliar with the coasts of Nicaragua, Guatemala and New Spain².

Their first mistake is about the season, which they indicate as that of midsummer, because, from March 12th to September 14th, it is summer from the Equinoctial line to the north, in which region yonder coasts lie. It is moreover the season for steady south-west winds which afford prosperous voyages to ships which take the Englishman's intended route, for they thus sail before the wind.

This conclusive fact, which would suffice to convince anyone who knew anything about navigation, is already thoroughly known by practice and experience to those who navigate from the Philippines to New Spain.

¹ In a note the editor of the *Documentos Inéditos* (*loc. cit.*) states that after this half of the sentence, the entire remainder of the original document is in the handwriting of Pedro Sarmiento.

I myself have navigated thus from Cape de Fortuñas in 34 deg. to the island del Caño, which is a distance of one thousand two hundred and seventy odd leagues. I know from experience that from November onward these south-west winds cease and the north-east and north winds begin along the coast and the currents run to the south-east, as I learnt from experience when I discovered the islands, commonly named *de Salomon*, in the year 1568.

Therefore, as it is winter on yonder coast, from September to March and summer and the dry season lasts from March to September, it follows that there would be no reason why the Corsair should winter there, particularly as there are ports inhabited by Christians as far north as Culiacan, in twenty-four deg. north.

Moreover he would be losing time and the season for the voyage to England where he was bound for. Because once he reaches forty-three deg. or the Cape Mendocino, these winds cease and the westerly ones prevail before which the ships sail on the voyage from the Orient to the land of Labrador which is in the region of England.

A man like Francis, who knew all this, would not have wished to lose time, nor risk his life and his booty.

Therefore I have always openly declared that during the whole months of August and September this Corsair will be on his return voyage to England by the uppermost point of La Florida¹, which is the said route.

As to what is stated in the said letter about its not being the season to go to China and that therefore he would have to winter I would state that within the tropics the season for going west lasts all the year round. The best time is in March or June².

¹ "por cima de la Florida que es el camino dicho."

² Between this and the next sentence there seems to be an omission.

...if he had to go that way and the dread of the Spaniards and Portuguese who are in those channels would deter him from going by that route. But in one case or another he would not be forced to winter there and he could proceed on his voyage by the direction that he chose.

Thus the said pilots were mistaken, or they invented this as well as the winds they spoke of, for such have never existed nor do they exist in the tropics.

Therefore it would be nonsense to wish to go after them from Santa for then it was already in June and four months had passed since the Corsair had been navigating by the coast of New Spain and California and he must have already been close to Bacallaos. Besides more than a month would have been required to prepare the fleet.

What is more, the Judges of Panama having dispatched that ship against the wish of the Accountant and His Majesty's officers, now wanted this Armada to go loitering around fruitlessly, simply so that we should take their vessel with us and make their action good.

In their letter they also say that when this fleet was in Panama they agreed that it was to go to Nicaragua. What happened is as follows: Having arranged that Don Diego de Tebes was to go thither they changed this for the worse and decided that Canales was to go with us to Peru; they would scarcely have decided thus if they intended to send a ship to Nicaragua, for the latter place is within their own jurisdiction and everything therein is under their orders. It is therefore clear that they never discussed the question of the route to Nicaragua—nor did they do so with us either in jest or in earnest.

In the same way the Judge Cerda writing to his nephew Canales [said] that he was to endeavour to cross over to Nicaragua, merely to make his doings appear right in order to be able to write to His Majesty that the Judges of Panama had upheld the opinion that the fleet should

have gone to Panama. In reality they did exactly the opposite.

Pedro Sarmiento informed the Viceroy of all this and also sent an answer to the President of the Royal Court at Panama. The Viceroy sent an order to Diego de Frias not to leave this port of Santa and that within two days he would send him an order about what was to be done about going or not going to the coast of Nicaragua. Then immediately His Excellency summoned a council meeting of pilots and experienced seamen, and all decided that it would not be expedient to go, for by this time the Englishman was at a distance of more than two thousand leagues. Therefore His Excellency wrote on June the twenty-seventh that we were to return to Lima and Canales was to go back to Panama.

Amongst other things the Viceroy wrote the following clause in his last letter: "It was in truth a grief to me that you did not cross over to the coast of Nicaragua when this was spoken of, for by doing so you would have obeyed my instructions and also the dictates of reason which demanded that you should do so."

The Viceroy wrote this clause to make it clear that his instructions authorised us to cross over in pursuit of the Corsair wherever we had reason to do so, according to the information about him we obtained, just as the Admiral and Sergeant-Major [Sarmiento] maintained. It can be clearly seen that those who prevented them from doing so under the pretext that there were no adequate instructions, did this only because they did not want to do it.

May God forgive him who was the cause that we turned back the first time and afterwards did not make the crossing. In either case if we had pushed on, we would have chastised this famous Corsair, discouraged those who may attempt to imitate him, and obtained the restitution of the property of His Majesty and of his vassals.

We left Santa on the first of July and arrived at Lima on the twelfth of the same month, and there, by order of the Viceroy, the fleet was discharged.

A few days after we had arrived at Lima, there came reliable news that, on the fourth of April, the Corsair Francis, who followed the coast of Guatemala, and was in the vicinity of the volcanoes of Guatemala, robbed the ship of Don Francisco de Zarate, which was laden with stuffs and clothing from Mexico and the Philippines and was bound for Lima. Without stopping he made de Zarate turn back and go with him almost as far as the Gulf of Tehuantepec, and, while under way, he transferred to his ship all he wished to take and also a sailor who was acquainted with that coast¹. There he released the old pilot whom he had seized off the island of Caño and cast off Don Francisco's ship. He then departed on his way to Acapulco where he also committed robberies². I give no account of the measures that were taken on the coasts of Guatemala and New Spain because I did not see them. Your Illustrious Lordship will hear about them from the reports of those concerned. The above is what pertains to what I saw and verified, and is the truth, and nought is omitted in what is written here.

PEDRO SARMIENTO.

¹ Juan Pascual, for whose depositions see pp. 323 and 332.

² Explanations why Drake entered the port of Guatulco and abandoned the plan of going to Acapulco are given on p. 250 (by Nuño da Silva) and on p. 339 (by Juan Pascual).

III

SPANISH OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO FRANCIS DRAKE AND TO THE
PROTECTIVE AND AGGRESSIVE MEASURES
TAKEN AGAINST HIM, FROM PERU, TIERRA
FIRME, COSTA RICA, NICARAGUA AND GUATE-
MALA¹

I

AGREEMENTS MADE BETWEEN THE VICEROY AND THE
ROYAL AUDIENCIA OF PERU AND THE DISPOSITIONS
THEY MADE WITH REGARD TO THE CORSAIRS².

NOTE.

The present document is one of particular interest, having been drawn up three days after Francis Drake had entered Callao de Lima and being the earliest official paper I have found concerning him.

It is of value as a *pièce justificative* which however entirely clears Drake of the accusation (interpolated in de Anton's testimony) of having sunk the ship from Panama, belonging to Alonso Rodriguez Bautista Patagalana, and cruelly murdered the entire crew.

¹ The following series, consisting of eight official documents, comprises the most interesting selected from a much larger number whose contents bear less directly on Drake.

It will be seen that they are representative of the Viceregal government of Peru and of the four governorships or governments which Drake touched at on his way to New Spain.

In an Appendix to this Part III I give, for the use of students, a list of twenty-two official documents of minor value which I examined at the Archives of the Indies at Seville and which relate to the same subject.

² *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 2, C. 5, L. 2-21.

It is, moreover, of special importance because the originals of all the first official reports and letters which were dispatched by the Viceroy and the Royal Audiencia of Peru were, as will be shown further on, lost at sea on their way to Spain. It will be found to convey a vivid picture of a stirring episode and an insight into the dignified formalities observed by the Viceregal court even under the stress of intense excitement.

At the time of Drake's entry the Viceroy of Peru was Don Francisco de Toledo, the youngest son of Count de Oropesa and a relative of the famous Duke of Alva. He governed Peru from 1569 to 1681 and although he gave proof of great capacity, his memory is still held in execration for his having ordered the judicial murder of Tupac Amaru, the last of the Incas. The remarkable energy with which he rose to the present occasion and the executive ability he displayed are recounted in Sarmiento's Narrative and with further details in the judicial inquiry that was made at Seville in February, 1580, by Juan de Bardales, a viceregal retainer who had just arrived there¹.

The Viceroy had sent Bardales to Spain from Lima two days after Drake's entry into Callao and he sailed from Nombre de Dios in the *Capitana* of three galleons. His ship was wrecked near Cartagena through what he declared under oath to be the fault and negligence of the ship-master, Martin Monte.

Bardales had been entrusted by the Viceroy with "three chests of worked silver, in one of which were letters and papers of great importance which the said Viceroy was sending to the Royal Person of His Majesty," and several witnesses aver that this faithful retainer "had always maintained since, in public, that he felt the loss of the said papers more deeply than that of all the contents of the said boxes on account of the grief that their loss would cause the Viceroy."

At the request of Bardales his testimony concerning the Drake episode at Callao and that of the other eye-witnesses who accompanied him was officially recorded and was presented to King Philip II and the Council of the Indies, as the latest news from Peru a year after its occurrence in February, 1580.

Antonio de Padilla's letters reveal that it was not until the following August that King Philip received the dispatch from the

¹ See Appendix to Part III, Docs. 17 and 18.

Audiencia of Panama dated August 7th, 1579, and, a few days later, and simultaneously, a duplicate of the Viceroy of Peru's lost letter, dated Feb. 18th, and another dated March 21st, 1579; two further letters from the President of the Court of Panama (dated April 12th and 14th), and the first reports from the Viceroy of New Spain, which are given in Part V, concerning Drake's entry into Guatulco.

It was but three months after these dispatches reached the Spanish King that Drake sailed into Plymouth Harbour in the same month in which, labouring under the general, but erroneous, belief that Francis Drake would necessarily be obliged to return through the Strait of Magellan on his homeward journey, the Viceroy dispatched several vessels under Captain Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa and Anton Paulo Coros to lie in wait, in the mouth of the Strait, and prevent his exit from the South Sea¹.

In the port of Callao, of the City of Los Reyes² of Peru, on the 16th of February, 1579, the most excellent Lord Don Francisco de Toledo, Viceroy, Governor and Captain-General of these realms, in an extraordinary Council held in the Royal houses and Custom house of said port; there being present the Licentiates Ramirez de Cartagena, Martin Perez de Recalde, Juan Lopez de Cepeda, Judges of the Royal Court of said city of Los Reyes; and the Licentiate Cardenes, and Doctor Don Diego de Zuñiga, Justices of the Peace of said Royal Court; the Licentiate Alvaro de Carvajal, Attorney-General; the Factor Domingo de Gorro, Accountant; and Pedro de Vega, the Treasurer of the Royal Estate of His Majesty in the Province of New Toledo; all having assembled for this purpose; His Excellency proposed as follows:

¹ A description of their solemn leave-taking, the minute instructions given to Sarmiento by the Viceroy and the narratives of this voyage by Sarmiento and Tome Hernandez, as well as the text of a remarkable letter from the Viceroy to the Governor of Rio de la Plata, have been published by Sir Clements R. Markham in *Narratives of the voyages of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa*. Hakluyt Society, vol. xci, 1895.

² Lima.

They already knew, for it was notorious, the harm that had been perpetrated in the ports of these regencies, from those of Chile to this of the City of Los Reyes, by a ship of English Corsairs which, having seized the vessel named "La Capitana," belonging to the Licentiate Torres, that lay in the port of Santiago of Chile, and robbed from her a quantity of more than fourteen hundred thousand pesos of gold and more than one thousand and seven hundred jars of wine and other things, entered the said town of Santiago, and robbed the ornaments and bells of the church, broke open the doors of its wine-cellars¹ and smashed the receptacles containing wine that were therein. They committed other injuries and robberies and took off with them the said ship, "La Capitana," as far as the port of Arica. There they took a ship belonging to one Felipe Corço, from which they robbed thirty-four bars of silver and then set fire to her, burning also another ship² that lay there, belonging to a Master Benito.

Leaving said port with their own ship and the two captured ships, and a launch that they had brought, they arrived in sight of the port of Chule where five hundred bars of His Majesty had been embarked on the ship of Bernal Bueno. They would have taken these had not warning been received a short time before, so that the bars had been disembarked and hidden on land. Proceeding on their voyage, after having taken from said ships all they desired and needed, they abandoned the said two ships on the high seas.

After having committed further depredations and taken other ships they reached this port of Callao on the night of Friday, the thirteenth of this present month. On entering the harbour about three hours after nightfall, men left

¹ "bodegas."

² Both John Drake and Nuño da Silva state that this was done by a sailor who acted without orders from Drake.

said ship in a launch and a skiff and entered the vessel of Miguel Angel. They had gathered information that a quantity of bars of silver, belonging to His Majesty and to private persons, had been embarked on this vessel. Not finding them in the vessel, for the reason that they had not been embarked, they took possession of the ship of Alonso Rodriguez Bautista which had just arrived from Tierra Firme, laden with merchandise, and was casting anchor. They wounded the said Alonso Rodriguez Bautista and others and cut the cables of the other ships which lay in port, so that, drifting out, they should close the entrance of the harbour. After having done this they also cut the cable of the ship they had seized and, taking this with them, sailed out of the port.

Having been informed of all this at one hour after midnight, in the City of Los Reyes, where he resided, His Excellency the Viceroy immediately issued a call to arms and sent the requisite military force to succour this port and to guard the two hundred thousand pesos of His Majesty that were stored in the Custom house ready to be embarked on said ship of Miguel Angel.

With equal celerity two ships were fitted out in this port, with a quantity of firearms and men, for the purpose of going in pursuit of the said Corsairs who were in sight. Although they left the port on the same day and chased the Corsairs they were not able to reach them and accomplished nothing, for during the time when they were preparing the said ships the enemy out-distanced them. Nor could they venture to pursue them for many days, because, owing to the haste with which the ships were made ready, they did not carry a sufficient amount of provisions. Therefore they returned to this port in order to provide themselves with what was necessary. They brought back with them the ship of the said Alonso Rodriguez Bautista which the Corsairs had plundered and were carrying off

According to the accounts given by some persons who had been seized by said Englishmen in the port of Santiago and in other ports, it is a Captain Francisco Andreque [*sic*] who has come in said ship. Some years ago, he committed many depredations and much harm on the coast of the North Sea, on the Isthmus and inland, after which, being in the kingdom of England, he fitted out five ships with the favour and assistance of the Queen of England. In these and carrying the insignias of said Queen, they left said kingdom¹, accompanied by a Portuguese pilot, named Amador de Silva and one of the negroes whom he had taken from Vallano.

Leaving two of these ships in the North Sea so that they should go on plundering, he came with the three others through the Strait of Magellan into this South Sea.

After having disembogued they separated. Up to the present in this realm there has appeared only the Captain's vessel in which there are said Francisco Andreque, Amador de Silva and the negro. It is he who has committed said robberies, but he awaits and is expecting the other two ships of whom, until now, no news has reached this kingdom. The said Captain Francisco says that it was agreed between them that they were to meet and await each other in thirty degrees or, if they failed to do so, in two and a half degrees which means the Cape of San Francisco. It is said that Captain Francisco has gone there now to await them, to supply himself with necessaries and also to commit acts of piracy and attack the vessels which might go from this kingdom to the Isthmus with silver and gold to be dispatched on this year's fleet, that being the route they usually take.

Having accomplished this he purposes to return to England by China and the route of the Portuguese. It

¹ "en el rreyno de Ynglaterra armo cinco navios con favor e ayuda de la Reyna del y con ellos, trayendo las ynsignias de la dicho Reyna, salio del dicho Reyno...."

also appears, from the aforesaid information, that the said English ship is well supplied with artillery, arquebuses, other arms and ammunition.

It is necessary to discuss now what steps are to be taken against the said Corsairs for the purpose of chastising and annihilating them ; thus averting the great harm that their presence on this coast can and may yet cause. For they may render it impossible to carry on trade between this kingdom the Isthmus and Spain, or to transport thither the King's silver and that of private individuals, without incurring great risks and expense.

Immediate attempts must be made to avert the harm he may do at present to the two ships which sailed from this port a short time ago, namely those of Sebastian Perez and San Juan de Anton. In the latter, there are 115,000 pesos of His Majesty and much silver belonging to private persons. The Corsair might also do further and greater mischief at sea and in the ports of this kingdom, the Spanish Main and Nicaragua.

It is therefore expedient that steps be immediately taken not only to prevent the other two English ships which are said to be on their way to this kingdom from doing damage in the ports further down the coast, but also to insure the safe transportation of His Majesty's and other persons' silver to the Isthmus.

His Excellency the Viceroy then stated that, although he had received from His Majesty schedules and commissions¹

¹ "su excelencia tiene cédulas y provisiones de su magestad." Cédula here means a royal writ or permit, in which sense we find it in Howell's *Letters* (1645): "I have procured a Royal Cédula, by which Cédula I have power to arrest his very person."

According to the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy a "*provision*" is "the dispatch or commission which is issued in the name of the King by certain tribunals, especially by the Councils and Courts for the execution of what is ordered and commissioned in them."

The foregoing is of particular interest and importance because Zarate, for instance, relates (see p. 209) that Drake had shown him the "provisiones" he carried from the Queen.

according to which, in similar cases, he is empowered to supply all that is necessary in His Majesty's service and to spend and deliver from His Royal Treasury whatever sums of money may be required, he desired, for his own satisfaction, to request the gentlemen of this said Council to give him their opinion as to what he ought and should provide for the said purpose and whether they consider the present emergency to be one for which, according to His Majesty's statute, the Royal Audiencia would be justified in drawing and delivering the necessary funds from the Royal Treasury.

If, according to His Majesty's orders, they were ordinarily expected to deliver their opinions as to what should or could be spent, with how much greater reason should they now assist His Excellency in this the most serious matter that this kingdom has ever had to consider.

After His Excellency had thus proposed that this matter was to be discussed, the said gentlemen unanimously, and without any difference of opinion, stated that it appeared to them that this was one of the most urgent and imperative cases that could possibly arise in these parts and one which fully justified the drawing upon any part of the Royal Revenues, whether they be derived from this province or from elsewhere, in order to meet the urgent and necessary expenses.

As the urgency of the matter did not permit of it, the funds were to be drawn without previously consulting His Majesty.

The said gentlemen thus unanimously agreed that the said Royal Warrant authorised the delivery and expenditure of all that was necessary for said purpose and that the Royal Treasury was to defray the expenses already incurred in dispatching the two vessels already sent and to provide for further requisites.

After a further consultation about the measures to be taken and the provisions that were to be made, it was resolved that beside the warnings already sent by *chasques*¹, a bark was to be sent down to all ports along the coast to give information of what had happened and orders that watchmen and guards were to be appointed and instructed so that they can recognise whether ships entering the said ports are of friends or enemies.

The bark is to go to Guayaquil, where the galley of His Majesty is to be fitted out, at his expense, for defence and offence. It is then to proceed to Panama and deliver a dispatch to the Royal Audiencia, ordering it to protect and guard that port. A dispatch of the same tenor is to be also sent to the care of the said Audiencia for the Governor of Nicaragua with the request that it be forwarded with all haste. If the Audiencia has no ship ready at Panama, then the bark is to proceed and deliver it, seeking, on her way, to obtain and spread news of the enemy in every place and port she visits.

This messenger ship is to be sent at the expense of His Majesty and if she should meet the said two ships of San Juan de Anton and of Sebastian Perez, she is to get them to disembark the silver they carry, belonging to His Majesty and private persons, in the nearest port where there is an administrator of justice and officials to guard it securely.

Beside this the ship is to give warning to all vessels from Tierra Firme, that she may meet, to travel with great vigilance and a realisation of their own insecurity. Should they desire to disembark their cargoes of goods they can do so in some safe port, placing them under the care of the legal officials, until such time as conditions can be remedied. These ships may then proceed at His

¹ A Peruvian word, meaning post-runners or foot-messengers.

Majesty's expense, after a preliminary agreement has been made between the Royal officials and the owners or pilots and mariners who are to navigate them. If they should find San Juan de Anton or Sebastian Perez they may claim from the merchants whose silver is being transported whatever reward is considered their due, according to the benefit derived from the warning given.

Beside this His Excellency orders that the said two vessels be sent in pursuit of the tyrant¹, well provided, at the expense of His Majesty, with the necessary crew and two hundred fighting men. His Excellency is to give them the orders which they are to follow until they capture and destroy the tyrant.

On account of the many inlets there are along the coast, into which no large vessel can enter, the galley now ready built at Guayaquil is to be fitted out with the necessary oars and soldiers for defence and offence, so that it can accompany the said two vessels and, entering into inlets and shallows, seek the said Lutheran Corsairs until they are found—not omitting a single such inlet until they reach Panama. If they should learn that the Corsairs have gone to the ports of Nicaragua they are to follow them thither.

Once all this has been attended to, with all possible dispatch, the said gentlemen are to inform His Excellency what precautions they consider should be taken in the future and what remedy can be provided to insure the safety of the coast navigation and to prevent the vessels which are said to follow in the wake of the Corsairs, from doing more harm.

It was agreed that the further measures which must necessarily be adopted to carry on this war and insure its

¹ "hasta prender y destruir el tirano...." Savonarola's definition of a tyrant was "a man of greater wickedness than other men...who would grasp all for himself...an enemy of God and man."

success, are to be carried out in the form and order and with the means which His Excellency will consider proper to employ in the service of Our Lord God and of His Royal Majesty for the defence of these kingdoms.

As agreed upon, the Royal Treasury is to supply the necessary funds and drafts are to be employed on which the Royal Warrant is to be quoted. An account of everything that has occurred is to be forwarded to His Majesty by the bark which is to be sent to the Isthmus by the Royal Audiencia of Panama¹.

In execution of the said agreement it was decided that on the present occasion, a draft was to be drawn up, in conformity with the Royal Warrant, and signed by all present, authorising the royal officials of the City of Los Reyes to draw from the royal coffers the sum of 1200 pesos of assayed and marked silver or their equivalent in maravedis and gold pesos that are therein collected from different sources of royal revenue.

This sum is to be held by the royal officials as a deposit, to constitute a royal fund to be employed for the necessary expenses that have been and are to be incurred.

This fund can only be drawn from by means of drafts signed by His Excellency and an account of it is to be kept by the said officials and rendered in due time.

Having thus agreed and acted the following signed: Don Francisco de Toledo; the licentiates Ramirez de Cartagena, Recalde, Cepeda, Francisco de Cardenes, Alvaro de Carvajal, Domingo de Garro, and Pedro de Vega. Before me, Alvaro Ruiz de Navamuel.

I, Alvaro Ruiz de Navamuel, secretary of the Chamber of His Majesty in His Royal Audiencia and Chancellery, residing in this City of Los Reyes, in the kingdoms of Peru, by order of the Most Excellent Señor Don

¹ This dispatch was the first to reach King Philip II, see Part XI.

Francisco de Toledo, their Viceroy, had this transcription made of the original of said act and agreement, with which original it was collated and corrected, in Los Reyes on the 28th day of the month of March, 1580, in the presence of the witnesses of the corrections: Francisco Lucero, Gaspar de Carranza and Joan Martinez, residents in this Court.

I made here my sign (sign)

In testimony of truth,

ALVARO RUIZ DE NAVAMUEL.

2

LETTER FROM THE LICENTiate VALVERDE TO KING PHILIP II, GIVING AN ACCOUNT TO HIS MAJESTY OF THE REASONS HE HAD FOR SENDING THE FLEET FROM GUATEMALA TO CALIFORNIA IN SEARCH OF THE CORSAIR DRAKE, 1579¹.

Your Catholic Royal Majesty,

The reasons and motives for ordering Your Armada to leave these provinces of Guatemala, in search and pursuit of the Corsair Francis Drake, Englishman, with orders to pass beyond New Spain and New Galicia² and go to the Californias, the Gulf of Vermejo³ and even further, if found necessary, are the following:

Because the Corsair is obliged to return by one of four routes, which are: by the strait called "de los Bacallaos"

¹ *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 2, C. 5, L. 2-21. This undated letter preceded the one that follows, dated April 14th, 1579.

² New Galicia was the early Spanish name given to a division of Mexico which approximately embraced the ancient dominion of the Tarascans with Guadalajara as its capital, extending also over some parts of the present states of Zacatecas and San Luis Potosi.

³ The Vermilion Gulf. This is the name that was used to designate the Gulf of California in early 16th century maps.

[of stockfish]; by the route of China; by Vallano, or by returning to the North Sea through the Strait of Magellan, by which he came.

The return by the strait "de los bacallaos" is held to be impossible because this is a strait which has never been navigated and is not known to exist. Although it is painted in some maps, it is always designated as "unknown and undiscovered strait." The navigation by China would be so difficult for the said Corsair, that it may be considered impossible, for there are many things that should dissuade him from undertaking it: (1) The navigation is so long and troublesome, as he would have to pilot and coast the entire world in order to return to England which is his country. (2) He cannot convey, in one ship only, the provisions sufficient for the 80 men he carries, during such a long voyage, even if his ship were to carry no other cargo but victuals. (3) He would have to touch at, or pass in sight of, Portuguese ports, where he would certainly run the risk of being seized and severely chastised by the armadas that are there. On reaching Asia, he would also run the risk of the Turks. (4) As, ever since he came out through the Strait of Magellan, he has been proclaiming that he intended to return by the route of China, we must believe the contrary. For soldiers, when it suits their purpose, and in order to put their enemy off their guard, are apt to proclaim what they do not intend doing. It therefore seems as though he tried to put your vassals and armadas off their guard, so that they should not go forth to pursue him. (5) He put ashore at Guatulco, a port of New Spain, Nuño da Silva, a most experienced Portuguese pilot, most skilful in the art of navigation and the knowledge of the heavens, whom he had brought with him for 15 months. Now, it would have been in his interest to take him further, for he was a friend of his, and he would need his counsel and ingenuity in so long a navigation, as

much that he never would have left him behind had he intended to return by China. For, being a prudent man, and realising that the pilot or pilots he had on board might sicken and die, he must have felt himself bound to prepare, as far as possible, for such a contingency. (6) On account of these debatable points and also of the resolution that was taken by the Councils of Pilots which were held in Lima by order of Your Viceroy, and in Panama by Your order, all have come to the conclusion that the said pilot would not dare to attempt to return by China¹.

According to what has been ascertained through the letters from the said Viceroy and the Audiencia, it is supposed that the return by Vallano may be the one that the Corsair had the design to attempt, when he entered the South Sea.

It seems that he carries with him, for this purpose, a negro who is believed to be one of the natives of Vallano who went with the Englishmen six or seven years ago to the South Sea, at the time of the robbery of the mule-trains. Those who were on Drake's ship say that this negro speaks English. Perhaps they thought that, under the protection of this negro, who must be a chieftain amongst the negroes of that region, he could carry his booty, by land, to the shore of the North Sea. But he will have learned, from the persons he seized, that the negroes have made peace with the Audiencia of Panama; that Pedro Ortega Valencia is there making settlements with two hundred men; and that, in the North Sea, there are galleys and galleons, running along that coast.

If he had this intention it would also be necessary for him to delay one winter so as not to put himself in the

¹ See Sarmiento's contrary opinion expressed on p. 84. The foregoing statements by the clever lawyer Valverde constitute an interesting example of logical reasoning which events proved to be absolutely wrong. The most characteristic blunder is the argument that Drake would surely do exactly the opposite of what he said he would do!

hands of those who, as is known, went out to pursue him. He would have to wait, so as to put these off their guard.

The return by the same Strait of Magellan seems the most likely, because it is a navigation which he already knows, and has already surveyed, also because, according to what appears from the declaration of the pilot Nuño da Silva, the Strait can be navigated both ways, at all seasons. Besides, this route would be the shortest by which he could return, and when he came along the coast he saw how badly the whole of it was provided with ships, artillery, arms and ammunition, for offensive, or even for defensive, purposes.

From the aforesaid, it must be held as most certain that the said Corsair entered the South Sea with the design of going out by Vallano, if possible, or by the same Strait of Magellan, which is the most likely.

It would seem as though many reasons would explain his not having returned up to the present. One of these is the fact that, having seen that he had left the inhabitants of the entire coast of this South Sea disturbed, and up in arms against him, and so resentful on account of the great quantity of booty he had robbed, that two ships chased after him from Lima; it cannot be presumed that he would be so rash as to wish to return by the way he came, in range of eyes that are so alertly watching out for him. He will wish to wait and return in safety, as he came, when he thinks that enough time has elapsed for us to have abandoned the hope of his return and adopted the belief that he has gone back by China; while those who started in pursuit of him will have returned and disarmed. It is not probable that he will have gone northward in order to gain the Strait of Magellan by crossing the open sea, because he is not acquainted with the northern portion of this sea, and it has a bad reputation for calms and contrary currents, which would cause him to fall to leeward and lose himself. He would have encountered the worst

season of the year, which occurs in these months of May to October, which constitute the winter of this sea¹. He would have to run the risk of encountering storms and of losing himself, especially as he has but one ship.

What is more: from the letter of the Inquisitor of Mexico it appears that the said Nuño da Silva declared, a short time ago, that the said Corsair came along extracting information from the pilots of the ships he seized, and that all told him of the danger there would be of missing the mouth of the Strait if he attempted, on the return voyage, to reach it from the open sea. He would miss it unless he came along the coast searching for it, because it lies much concealed and has no visible points which reveal it on this South Sea coast.

Another reason which explains why he has not yet returned is that, in order to return to the Strait, the winds, up to the present, have been contrary, and will continue to be so until the beginning of November.

It may be presumed, from all of this, that he has not returned. Nor has he been seen. The great probability is, therefore, that the Corsair has wintered on the coast, in the region of the Californias, in those small bays or deep coves that are there or off one of the adjacent islands. He may be there with the design of returning in the month of November when following winds would assist him.

He probably imagines that he will find the coasts and ports disarmed and as uncared for as when he came and that he can reach the Strait by January or February, which is the height of the summer season there. This would not, however, be the whole reason for his delay, for the Strait can be passed in winter as well as in summer, and the coast of Peru can be navigated in all seasons. His sole consideration will be to allow time to pass, so that the

¹ See Sarmiento's narrative where he demonstrates that the Panama

coasts will be as unwatched and unprepared as when he came.

An indication of this is his having carried off from Guatulco the entire supply of Indian women's petticoats¹ and also taken other articles of clothing used by the Indians, disregarding a great quantity of valuable silk clothing, which he could have taken from the ships he had seized on his way. It would seem that the taking of these articles of clothing used by the natives was done so that he could take harbour where there were Indians, and exchange them for victuals and articles of necessity and keep them contented during the time when he would have to repair his ship and be in his winter quarters. This would necessarily have to be done with the warlike Indians who inhabit the coast beyond New Spain and New Galicia. He would not otherwise have carried off the said Indian clothing; for he was not going to wear it, nor would it be of utility in England, or after having passed into the North Sea. Another evident indication of this is what the Inquisitor of Mexico writes about the recently made declaration by the said pilot Nuño da Silva. He believes that the Corsair will winter and not go out to sea, because he did not carry a sufficiency of meat or victuals and his ship leaked. But he carried all that was necessary for caulking and careening it.

An important indication is furnished by the declaration, made under oath, of Baltasar Gonzalez², who was told by Juan Pascual, the pilot taken by the Corsair from the vessel of Don Francisco Zarate, that, when he was in the Corsair's ship he met one day, at the prow, the said negro who inquired of him secretly: "Where is the port of Colima?" When Juan Pascual answered, telling him that it was beyond New Galicia³, the negro said: "I think that

¹ "huipiles."

² This deposition, unfortunately, seems to be lost.

³ See footnote, p. 100.

we are going thither. Withdraw yourself from me. Do not let yourself be seen speaking to me."

Great assistance is furnished by the circumstance that the Corsair landed Nuño da Silva at Guatulco. He had brought him with him for eighteen months¹, was in actual need of his services, and yet he landed him without giving him anything, although the Corsair was usually so liberal with others whom he made prisoners on the voyage. He gave them money and silver and left them their clothing and properties. For this reason I, and many others, have the strongest suspicions that he left the pilot as a spy so that he should proclaim and persuade people, as he has, in fact, tried to do, that the Corsair was going to return by China or the Strait "de los Bacallaos," and that the negro was not of those from Vallano but that he had been taken from a ship near Panama. The said Nuño de Silva has stated this, although letters from Lima relate that there, and before that time, the negro had been seen on the Corsair's ship. All this is done so that the people along the coast should be off their guard and become careless, giving up the expectation of his return; so that when the Corsair returns to fetch Nuño da Silva the latter can warn him of the preparations that have been made against him, so that he can protect himself against them.

The circumstance that when the Corsair sailed from Guatulco he made a show of intending to take to the open sea, by unmounting his ordnance and caulking his portholes, simply indicates a stratagem and feint, designed to persuade us to give up watching for his return.

The fact that the sentinels, who have been placed along the coast by Your Viceroy of New Spain, have not seen the Corsair, should not be taken as a certain sign that he did not pass by the coast to winter quarters beyond. By

¹ In reality fifteen.

sailing straight away from Guatulco to a distance of six or eight leagues and by keeping at this distance from the coast, he could mislead the sentinels stationed on low, and even on high land, and could pass along without being seen, and yet without losing sight of land himself. Indeed, between the time when Your Viceroy was informed about the Corsair, and of his leaving the port of Guatulco, and the date he was able to station the sentinels, the Corsair could have passed along the entire coast of New Spain and New Galicia.

Therefore, Your Catholic Majesty, these are the considerations and motives I have had for suspecting and believing that the Corsair has wintered in the direction of the Californias; and for giving orders and instructions to Your Armada to go and search for him in those parts, where none of Your Armadas have hitherto gone.

May it please God to make my design hit the mark in accordance with my zeal and desire that Your Majesty be well served and the Corsair punished.

(Signed) THE LICENTiate VALVERDE.

3

LETTER FROM THE LICENTiate VALVERDE TO HIS
MAJESTY THE KING, ON THE SAME SUBJECT¹.

Guatemala, April 14th, 1579.

Your Royal Majesty,

Yesterday, Tuesday, the 13th of this month I received two letters, one from Juan Solano, the Lieutenant-Governor of Costa Rica, and the other from the

¹ *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 2, C. 5, L. 2-21.

Licentiate Palacios, Judge of this Court in the port of Realejo, of the Province of Nicaragua, referring to what Solano wrote him and telling of the preventive measures he has taken in this matter, as Your Majesty will see by the copies of both letters that will be enclosed in this¹.

...²from Costa Rica a small ship bound for Panama succeeded in reaching an island where the vessels that descend from Peru and those from that coast that go to Panama are examined. The launch of a vessel belonging to an Englishman who was there, came towards them, and her crew seized them, and took them into his ship. They were thus able to observe the ship, the number of her men, and her artillery.

Having been released without receiving harm, they gave the news which is contained in Solano's letter, namely, that the vessel is of two hundred tons, is well armed with artillery and eighty-six men, with many fire engines and other machines of war, and that she is ballasted with silver, chests of gold, and reals of eight.

In addition to what is conveyed in Solano's letter it has been ascertained that when the small bark which was bringing these letters to me from the Realejo met, at Zonzonate, a small ship coming from Acapulco, in which was Don Francisco de Zarate, on his way to Peru, with a cargo of clothing, the latter reported that on nearing this city of Guatemala he had come across the Englishman, who was on his way to the ports of Guatulco and Acapulco. He had to surrender to him as he and his crew were without arms, men, or equipment for fighting. The Englishman took them all into his ship, and seizing all the goods and victuals that Zarate was carrying, had them transferred to a ship he brought with him, which he had taken from

¹ These letters follow as Nos. 4 and 5 of this Part III.

² Hiatus.

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the Costa Ricans. Having done this, he ordered the said Zarate and the others to be brought up from below deck, and paid much honour to Zarate, as to a gentleman. He even restored a part of the property he had taken from him. He told him how he had entered the Strait of Magellan with five ships, and how one had been lost, but her men saved and distributed among the other four ships which are now going along the coast of Peru committing robberies, while he came on to this coast.

This, and other things, are according to the testimony of this man, to whom Zarate related them, also that he was going to the Realejo and was not carrying sufficient provisions.

- By aid of the accompanying documents, Your Majesty can have this account investigated.

Immediately, on the same Tuesday, I sent warnings in all haste, to the ports of Guatulco and Acapulco so that the ships that were in those ports could be put in safety and guarded, particularly the vessel from China and the other. I also wrote to the Viceroy of New Spain giving him news of this great piece of audacity, setting forth the importance of this affair, which he will surely comprehend. As he has artillery and men, he should arm two ships and send them in pursuit of this Corsair and enemy of our Holy Catholic Faith, this being a matter of much importance in the service of Your Majesty.

Having taken these steps, I convened a meeting of the Bishop of this diocese and other suitable persons, so as to discuss, and come to some agreement, about this matter. It seemed to us all that it would be possible to muster two hundred men in this city, the neighbouring towns and the coast of Nicaragua, where the Licentiate Palacios now is. There are two available vessels of one hundred and twenty tons, one of them belonging to Your Majesty, which is employed in conveying the timber for the two vessels for

China which are being constructed there. The other is from Panama and is to be found there. In the port of Zonzonate there is another small one. With these three ships and four guns of bronze, of fifteen quintals each, which can be made from the bells which the Bishop will give for the purpose, all could be in readiness in a period of forty to fifty days. They could go out to search for this Corsair. Meanwhile all necessary measures would be taken so that he could not get out of this sea.

Great inconveniences would result from his doing so, besides the damage that has been done, which must be very great. As regards his journey up the coast, it cannot be understood unless we assume that, in all probability, what he told Don Francisco de Zarate about the three ships that remained behind robbing on the coast of Peru was an untruth, and that he probably entered the South Sea by the Strait of Magellan alone, and did not manifest himself on the coast of Peru, so as not to give the alarm, and be disturbed in his robberies. He probably descended to the islands of Panama where the ships that go down from Peru are inspected, so as to rob these, and this done, as he must have done, he came to this coast to look for a new vessel that is in Acapulco, and to take the provisions that he will need for his long sea-voyage home. Having done this, what he could do would be to return down this coast, so as to cross to the coast of Peru and continue his voyage. As the vessels from Peru go up and down the coast, he would not go from port to port, but would keep in the gulf so as not to be seen or taken. It is doubtful whether, from Acapulco, he could cross this gulf to Lima or Arequipa, although it is said that one or two ships did this in the time of Pizarro. But this route is not known and it is to be feared that there would be no wind and he would not dare to attempt it. Secondly, it is doubted whether, from Acapulco, he could take the route to China

by the Portuguese route or by that of the ship "Victoria"¹ which passed through the Strait and, taking the route to China, went to those realms. It seems that he cannot have a pilot who knows this route, nor would he expose himself to such danger, particularly when carrying as much plunder as we suspect that he must have. Nothing certain can, however, be known here about this, until the news, which cannot long be delayed, comes from Panama, about what happened there. This affair will be attended to with all possible dispatch, diligence and precaution, so that it will have a good result, it being, as I realise, a matter of importance to the service of Your Majesty and to the welfare of these realms and countries...².

From Guatemala, April 14th, 1579.

Your humble servant and vassal who kisses
Your Majesty's feet and hands,

THE LICENTiate VALVERDE.

4

REPORT MADE BY CAPTAIN JUAN SOLANO, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF COSTA RICA, TO THE LICENTiate VALVERDE, PRESIDENT OF THE AUDIENCIA OF GUATEMALA, UPON THE PIRACIES COMMITTED BY THE CORSAIR FRANCIS DRAKE³.

Esparza, 29th of March, 1579.

Very Illustrious Sir,

Even if I did not fill, as I do, the post of Lieutenant-General of this Province of Costa Rica, which places me under a binding obligation to serve His Majesty, and your Lordship as his Lieutenant, with utmost zeal, and

¹ Magellan's vessel.

² The end of this communication has no relation to Francis Drake.

³ *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 2, C. 5, L. 2-21. The Spanish text is published by Don Manuel M. Peralta in his *Costa Rica*,

as best I can, I could not neglect doing so now, the present motive being such a powerful one. It has moreover been agreed here, amongst ourselves, that it is most urgent that the situation be remedied as quickly as possible. Therefore, it is imperative that I should give an account of what has happened, from the twentieth of this month to the present date, although this account may become somewhat lengthy.

On last Tuesday, the 17th of this month, a bark laden with native merchandise sailed from a port of this province for the city of Panama. Amongst the passengers she carried two pilots sent by His Lordship, the Viceroy of New Spain, for the voyage that is to be made to China from the mainland. On March 20th, while on their voyage towards the Island "del Caño," an island that must necessarily be passed by those coming from Nicaragua and those coming from Peru, a launch, well fitted with oars and sails, came out of a large cove that is situated at the outside of the island.

Before they realised what she was, they thought she must be the boat of some lost vessel containing some shipwrecked men. As soon as they were able to distinguish better, they recognised that the men were English and supposed that they were some of the Englishmen who had remained in Vallano, on the mainland, in the previous year¹. As soon as the Englishmen came nearer they began to blow trumpets and to shoot some arquebuse shots into the air, for the purpose of making the Spaniards adopt the defensive or surrender. Seeing that the latter

Nicaragua y Panama en el Siglo XVI, p. 569. The following information is given by Señor Peralta in a note on p. 585. "The bark to which Captain J. Solano refers in this letter belonged to Master Rodrigo Tello. It left the port of S. Pedro del Palmar, two leagues from Esparza, or, what is the same, from the mouth of the Rio de la Barranca and carried a cargo of maize, honey, sarsaparilla and planks destined for Panama, and fourteen passengers." Señor Peralta published the deposition of one of these passengers only (de Parraces). In the present volume the depositions of the three other passengers (besides that of the pilot Colchero) are given in Part IV, p. 134.

would not surrender, the Englishmen shot in earnest, and wounded two soldiers. Realising that they had no means of defence, the Spaniards surrendered, and the Englishmen entered their bark, and took her to the cove out of which the launch had come. There, in a large vessel of 200 tons, was their Captain-General whose name is Francis Drake. This vessel carries 14 pieces of heavy artillery and 86 men, all good sailors and soldiers, besides much arquebuse ammunition and many firearms and other instruments of war, such as are usually carried by robbers like these.

The Englishman says that he left England eight or ten months ago, with an armada of five warships, and that he entered the South Sea by the Strait of Magellan with all of them. In a storm he encountered he lost one of them, but saved her men and artillery and distributed them in all the other ships. He is alone with a launch and boat, but says that there is another larger vessel than his, carrying 20 pieces of artillery and also travelling alone. The two others, which he says are somewhat smaller, are now sailing together along the coast of Peru. He came by Chile, and says he had some encounters with the Indians of that country.

He has committed great robberies and carries as ballast one thousand and two hundred bars of silver, the value of each being three hundred "pesos de minas." The three largest chests he has are full of gold. He has three or four bound chests, full of pieces of eight reals, so that, according to the account he gave to these Spaniards, he carries more than six hundred thousand "pesos de minas."

From amongst the passengers he seized the two pilots of the China seas who were being sent by the Lord Viceroy of New Spain to Panama, with all their sea-charts and papers. He is carrying one of these men, named Alonso Sanchez Colchero, with him, and it is believed that it is his intention to touch at Zonzonate and Acapulco and to go

from there to as far as China, as he is very greedy for gold.

He says that he has ordered his captains to meet him at a certain date, at Macao and Goa, in the Portuguese Indies, so as to proceed thence to his own country.

He carries with him a Portuguese pilot, a great expert in the determination of latitude by observation¹. It is believed that it was he who piloted Drake through the Strait. There was nobody who knew this Portuguese pilot, nor did he speak to a single man in the eight days during which they were on board. Thirteen Spaniards arrived in this city of Esparza to-day, Sunday, the 29th of March, in a launch that he gave them so that they could come to land. They came feeling quite overcome and in great distress, because he took their bark and everything in it.

May the person and house of your Lordship be preserved for many years, and increase in estate as your Lordship deserves, and I your servant wish. From this city of Esparza, province of Costa Rica, 29th of March, 1579.

Very Illustrious Lord. The hands of your Lordship are kissed by your

Very servant,

JUAN SOLANO.

¹ Nuño da Silva, "grande hombre de altura." See *Diccionario de la Academia* for explanation of "altura," and examples of its nautical use. A "piloto de altura" = pilot of the high seas, i.e. skilled in the art of navigation.

5

THE LICENTiate DIEGO GARCIA DE PALACIOS, JUDGE
OF THE AUDIENCIA OF GUATEMALA, TO THE LICEN-
TIATE VALVERDE¹

Realejo, 7th of April, 1579.

Illustrious Sir: By the many communications that accompany this, your Lordship will be informed of the audacity of eighty Englishmen, with a vessel of two hundred tons, including the booty it carries. This province is greatly disturbed, and I believe that in Peru and in Tierra Firme it must be the same. May God grant that steps may be taken in time so as to punish them, and remedy the damage done.

They tell me that, with the aid of the charts and the pilot of the route of China whom they seized, they want to go thither, and, on their way, visit and rob these ports and those of New Spain, as it is imperative for them to get victuals. The voyage will be their ruin, because the coast line is long, and so are the distances between the ports they will have to visit. The best and safest course for them to take would be to return to the Strait towards the end of November, and pass out of it by the way they came. But their fears must greatly deter them from all this. May it please God that they do as above, so that I, for my part, may obtain a good and certain success in my undertakings against them.

Yesterday afternoon I received the news, and at once sent dispatches to the cities of Leon and Granada. I also

¹ *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 2, C. 5, L. 2-21, 18. Text of Spanish original published by Peralta, *op. et loc. cit.* An English translation published here for the first time. This letter and Nos. 4, 6 and 7 were enclosed in No. 3.

interviewed the neighbouring Indians, and placed sentinels on the little island that is situated at the entrance of this port.

I am remaining here, and am making a small fortification in a convenient situation on this estuary, and I shall close this with some chains which I had the good luck to find, because I fear that they will want to enter here and set fire to this construction. My hopes are in God, that I may be able to defend this building unto death, with the aid of the people of this province whom I am expecting, and with the men who are here.

In case of news, I will advise your Lordship by the next post.

I have written to the other cities and places, so as to warn them to take refuge wherever most convenient. I am dispatching to the Lord Viceroy a sloop with the letters I received, and one from Colchero who is the pilot now on his way with the English. I send the same to your Lordship and in case of the possible delay and risk of sending by sea, I am sending you a duplicate which I ordered to be dispatched as quickly as possible, because it is of great importance that His Excellency the Viceroy be warned and enabled, in turn, to send warning to the Philippines, so that they, having men and artillery, should go out to encounter them. It is necessary to have money for the expenses of powder, as well as for these dispatches and other things that have to be done. I have no money, nor will the officials of this province furnish any. I beg your Lordship to authorise that three hundred pesos be taken from the tributes that have been collected from this province and are lying idle, so that I can carry out the work I have to do, and defray other expenses which are greater than I am able to meet. I also beg your Lordship to immediately send me word, by this messenger, what you wish me to do, and make provision for any necessary commissions that

I may have to carry out in future. This is, of course, the reason for which I am here. On the other hand, I much wish that this occasion and the building in course of construction might give me an opportunity of being able to kiss your Lordship's hand, and to discuss with you my affairs, now that Doctor Aliaja is in this country. But even though I run a great risk I shall not do aught but what your Lordship commands and orders me to do. I supplicate your Lordship, as my chief in all, to do me honour and to particularly consider me in relation to this matter. God knows that I have always desired to be exact, and that, although there may have been ignorance and carelessness, there has never been meanness or malice. This building is far advanced. I am spending much and have not a "real." Nor will the auditor make any advance. It is certain that I cannot do anything more, and that there is no one who will lend me a real, until I pay what I owe. Your Lordship will have this provided for, for if the work is interrupted, it will be hard to meet the difficulties that will arise. May our Lord keep and increase the most illustrious person and estate of your Lordship.

From the Realejo, 7th of April, 1579.

The messenger who is carrying this has only been paid by me as far as his destination. Your Lordship will order provision to be made for his return, and will dispatch him with the greatest haste that may be possible.

Very Illustrious Lord, your servant, the Licentiate Palacios, kisses your hands.

To my Lord, the very illustrious Lord Licentiate Valverde, of the Council of His Majesty; President of the Royal Audiencia of Guatemala, and Captain-General of his district.

6

LETTER FROM DON MIGUEL DE ERASO Y AGUILAR
TO KING PHILIP II¹.

Your Catholic Royal Majesty

By the vessel that was dispatched by Don Cristoval de Eraso, to give warning, I wrote to Your Majesty all that had happened up to that date and how I was about to go to Barlovento².

It afterwards appeared preferable to Don Cristoval that the Admiral's ship should go with six vessels, viz. the two large ones, the "Sastia" (*sic*), three frigates and a launch, and that I should remain near him because he knew that I had some experience of this coast. Moreover there were consultations held over the news that had been received from Barlovento about the arrival of two French ships which were awaiting seven others; and how Don Alvaro had reached Jamaica. His vessel had lost her masts and sprung a leak and was holding seven ells of water. She was however saved and Don Alvaro got his men into two frigates and proceeded on his voyage.

Don Cristoval de Eraso has given a report of all this.

On the thirteenth of this month, from the Audiencia of Panama the news arrived that Captain Francis, a Frenchman who is married in England, seized three ships off Cape San Francisco, beneath the line, and one hundred and fifty leagues distant from Panama. Your Majesty will see the names of these vessels in the report sent by the Audiencia of Panama. In all he took five hundred and eighteen thousand and six hundred and fifty pesos of

¹ *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 2, C. 5, L. 2-21. The writer of this letter, a relative of the famous Christopher de Eraso, the General of the Armada of the Indies in 1581, was sent as "General of the land forces" to the Indies in November, 1586.

² Barlovento is the capital of Palma, one of the Canary Islands.

assayed silver. How much gold he seized is not known, for he took a bark on her way from Quito. This piece of news has spread much melancholy throughout these realms. No less effectively have certain private persons been overtaken. I shall not tell Your Majesty who they are because they are enumerated in the minute¹ that the Audiencia is sending Your Majesty.

It is a thing that terrifies one, this voyage and the boldness of this low man, the son of vile parents (for, it is said that his father was a shoe-maker). Yet it is a positive and accomplished fact that he undertook that navigation and came by that route. The strait through which he passed is that of Magellan and besides being an unusual route it is so narrow that its mouth is only a league and a half wide, and from pure necessity, the current must be very furious². However, as is rendered evident by the judicial inquiry made by the Audiencia, he carries with him a good Portuguese pilot who was so well acquainted with the coast, that he did not fear nor fears these currents and narrows, although of his five ships he lost two, saving the men. The other two lost their course. He wintered in the port of San Julian, which is near the strait, because in the South Sea there are said to be only two winds in all the year. These are from the East and from the West, as far up as Mormoreno. From there onwards it is said that the other winds of the compass blow³. Therefore it is necessary for him to leave the west.

Although at the present time I understand that he is wintering in a port, there are two reasons why it is necessary for him to return. One is to look for his companion ships. The other is to seek a route so as to proceed on his

¹ "minuta" = first draft of an agreement in writing.

² "muy furiosa."

³ "corren los demas vientos de la aguja."

voyage. For there is nothing more for him to plunder, since he has made such a good haul; besides, it is the usage of Corsairs, after having made such, to hide and depart from the place where they run the risk of being discovered. It is true, however, that in this South Sea there is no vessel or vessels that can harm him, for they are small in size and their crews are inexperienced. It appears that the two vessels that were dispatched by the Viceroy to chase him overtook him but made no attempt to attack him, nor did they exert themselves in any way. This was because on board both ships there were neither sailors nor Corsairs. If there had been either, even with the crew and forces they carried they would not have failed to attack, even if it had been "the carrack of Rhodes¹" in order to ascertain what advantage could be gained. I am confident that if these had been English ships they would not have turned back without first reconnoitring and seizing an opportunity of attacking [the enemy].

May Our Lord guard the Catholic Royal Person of Your Majesty, etc. Cartagena, May 10th, 1579.

Catholic Royal Majesty,

The feet of Your Majesty are kissed by your servant,

DON MIGUEL DE ERASO.

7

LETTER WRITTEN BY THE LICENTiate PALACIOS TO THE GENERALS AND CAPTAINS OF THE ARMADAS WHICH WENT IN PURSUIT OF CAPTAIN FRANCIS DRAKE, ENGLISHMAN².

Illustrious Sirs,

On the sixth of this month I learnt, by way of Costa Rica, that the Captain of an English vessel had seized a bark and certain Spaniards who were in her, and

¹ "la carraca de rodas."

² *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 2, C. 5, L. 2-21, 18.

that he had committed many robberies and done much damage along the coast of Peru. As soon as I ascertained that this was the case, I warned the towns and inhabitants of these provinces and stationed sentinels in the most suitable places. I also fortified this port, and sent dispatches to His Lordship the Viceroy of New Spain, to the gentlemen of the Supreme Court of Guatemala, and to places along this coast. On the eleventh I received a parcel of letters from the Judges and city of Panama, in which they gave me an exact account of what happened, and informed me that the Viceroy of Peru and of that province, had promptly sent ships and men-of-war to punish the audacity of that Corsair. In order to aid in obtaining news of him, and give notice of what might occur, I set men to work to transform a bark into a brigantine. Just as she was being finished, yesterday afternoon, a bark arrived at this port. She carried Don Francisco de Zarate and a certain Alonzo Sanchez Colchero, whom the Englishman had taken with him, because the said Colchero was a pilot experienced in the route of the Philippine Islands. This man made the deposition, under oath, which Your Honours will see, as it accompanies this¹.

Through it you will be well informed about the route this enemy has taken, and know that, if he be pursued, he cannot escape, even although he has the advantage of a long start. His vessel, on account of the long voyage, her great weight and the storms she has suffered, is in urgent need of careening. He intended to careen her in some out-of-the-way port, after having run along and raided the coast of New Spain. It cannot be believed that he would venture to cross the sea between this coast and the Moluccas, whither, it is said, and believed, he is to go, without careening his vessel. This is a help to us, because even

¹ Colchero's deposition is given at p. 193.

if he wished to undertake the long voyage, he could not do so, without very great risk, until next November, on account of the strong south-by-west winds which blow with such force at a distance from the coast¹. It therefore seems impossible for him to escape by means of that route. Moreover, he probably thinks that wherever he finds a suitable port for careening, he would be safe in taking it, for doubtless he estimates that the harm he might receive from the Spanish ships in this South Sea would be very little.

Now that Your Excellencies have sent in pursuit of him, and that you have, through this information, news of the enemy, it is but just that you should catch him, and this would be of great importance for the service of His Majesty, and the security of these realms. It would be but just that a man who had the audacity to do what he did, and rob so much silver and gold, should be hindered from enjoying and carrying it to his country, as a tid-bit for his countrymen. It would be unjust if he, with his dexterity and the skill of his countrymen, should fill this South Sea with corsairs who would devastate it, deprive it of the liberty and safety that it has enjoyed, and triumph over its inhabitants.

If the distance and lack of sustenance furnish some excuse, I believe...since the lands belong to one sovereign and he is a common enemy...². In New Spain His Lordship the Viceroy will no doubt be able to furnish the necessary reinforcements with great promptitude, for his land is productive; His Excellency is vigilant and his people have the reputation of being brave. They will not only guard their own houses with honour, but will also shield and defend the homes of others.

I detained here, during these past days, a bark with

¹ Sarmiento contradicts these statements on p. 84.

² Two portions of this sentence are obliterated.

cargo for Panama, but am now dispatching it, so that it can bear this information to Your Honours of what is happening. I have also learned that a ship from China has arrived at Acapulco and is fully equipped. I believe that she can also be of use in pursuing the Corsair. She can be filled with a great number of men, as there are so many to be had in Your kingdom.

On account of all that I have said and of other things that Your Honours, being more circumspect and sagacious will understand how to do, I hope in Our Lord that, with your valour and diligence, this enterprise will have so good a result that these enemies will get what they deserve, and the provinces of this South Sea regain the peace that they had, and now ardently desire.

May Our Lord guard Your illustrious persons and increase Your estates, etc.

From the Realejo, 16th of April, 1579¹.

8

COPY OF A MISSIVE² WHICH WAS WRITTEN IN THE FOLLOWING TENOR BY THE VERY ILLUSTRIOUS DON CHRISTOBAL DE ERASO, GENERAL OF THE ARMADA OF HIS MAJESTY, OF THE GUARD OF THE INDIES, TO THE PRESIDENT AND JUDGES OF THE ROYAL AUDIENCIA OF PANAMA³.

Very Illustrious Sir,

On the tenth of April I received two letters from Your Lordship, dated the fourth and sixteenth of March—the first being in answer to one of mine, the second with the news that had been received about Captain Francis, Englishman, who had passed into yonder

¹ In the original MS. a copy of the pilot Colchero's deposition (see p. 193) forms an appendix to the above letter.

² "carta misiva."

³ *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 2, C. 5, L. 2-21, No. 25.

South Sea with five ships, through the Strait of Magellan. It was stated that two of these had been lost but their crews had been saved and taken into the other ships. Two others lost their route in a storm and Captain Francis, with his ship and a launch ran along the coast of Peru, committing many robberies, until he reached the ship of San Juan de Anton at a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues from Panama. I have particularly looked into the account given by the said San Juan de Anton of the voyage made by this Corsair and of the regions and ports where he has been. I am filled with amazement at the boldness the latter has displayed. I have held a council meeting of the captains, pilots and the cosmographer of this Armada and with the map in hand tried to see by what route this Corsair might go out again. After considering all the difficulties that would have to be otherwise encountered it appears to me that this Corsair might well return by the way he came, as he carries all the necessary tackle for rigging out ships and rendering them fit to pass out through the said Strait.

As to his returning by the Cape of Good Hope, this seems to me to be so long and difficult a journey that he would not dare to attempt it. Nor would he dare to return by any route until he had been joined by his two missing ships.

Your Lordship wrote me of the possibility that he might come to this North Sea on account of his former friendship with the negroes of Vallano. It appears to me that he might do this if he has come to an understanding with them, or he might cross by the channel of Nicaragua. Either of these passes would be the nearest and most suitable for his crossing to the North Sea with the silver he has robbed, and once there he could build launches and seize trading frigates so as to go with them to England.

Within an hour of the time in which I received

lordship's dispatch I made ready the man-of-war, the galleys and the galliot I had in the port of Cartagena. As quickly as I could I sent Don Pedro Bique with the two galleys and the galliot to search the creek of Acla¹. He was first to go to Tolu so as to take in whatever maize and cassava he might find there and was then to go along the whole of that coast and enter the river, searching all its tributaries and creeks.

At whatever point he may think best he is to leave guards to protect that pass. The galliot he took was well fitted out with oarsmen and soldiers.

I shall take with me the galleon "San Bartolome" and shall send her to Islas de Agua or Cape Tiburon, to remain there as a reinforcement to aid and succour the galliot. I have given orders to Don Pedro Bique that, as soon as he has done all this he is to come, with all possible speed, with the galleys to Nombre de Dios where he would meet me. If he should arrive before me he is immediately to write to Your Lordship and report what he has done and that he is remaining here to await the order that Your Lordship will give him. Thirty-two days ago he left the port of Cartagena with this order and as he has not arrived here yet I am in great anxiety lest he has met with some accident, or the oarsmen have mutinied. It may be, however, that on account of the severity of the weather he has retreated into the creek until it improves. As matters stand I am expecting him hourly.

I departed at once to follow him from the port of Cartagena to this port of Nombre de Dios and three days out I sighted Cabeça de Cativa. On arriving there I had six days of calm....After having arrived with the ships, I am now at anchor in thirty-five fathoms, three leagues out of Nombre de Dios. Last night, in a sloop I went

ashore to write to Your Lordship of my arrival and of what had happened to me.

On arriving here I learnt that Captain Francis' two ships, which had lost their way, have appeared on the coast of Chile and are coming along robbing as he did¹; that Captain Francis is on the route to Nicaragua and had seized two barks there.

This is an affair of great importance which requires serious consideration. If all three vessels should unite with their artillery and firearms they will constitute a force that could not possibly be vanquished by the ships sent by the Viceroy or those that have left there. Therefore, if they are not chastised quickly, as they deserve, and before they have time to join [Drake's ship] they will be able to do far more harm than heretofore. If Your Lordship considers that it would be of use, in His Majesty's service, for me to go in person to yonder city with some of the captains and veterans of this fleet, and embark in the ships which may be there and go to seek these Corsairs, I will do so with all possible speed. If there is no necessity for me to go I can send Don Francisco de Eraso, my son, who fills the post of Admiral of this fleet, with as many captains^e and veterans as can be spared, taking care not to leave this place defenceless. Although I am carrying but the bare necessary amount of arms and ammunition, in view of all this I could send Your Lordship some pieces of bronze of ten, twelve, fifteen or twenty hundredweights, if they can be transported, and some muskets and arquebuses and pikes. I will serve you with all I can spare and, this being a matter of such importance, I will assist with my person, my sons and my property. With this determination I await Your Lordship's resolution as well as your opinion whether, on hearing from you I should

¹ The same false report. See pp. 68, 78, 79, 95, 113 and 153.

send Don Pedro Bique with the two galleys to scour all this coast as far as the channel of Nicaragua and to guard that pass until we know what else to do against these enemies. With this precaution both of the passes by which it is understood that this Corsair might cross to the North Sea would be safe.

The fleet of Tierra Firme had not arrived when I left Cartagena and its delay has caused me great anxiety. God grant that no misfortune has befallen it, as has been the case with the fleet of New Spain. Your Lordship informs me that money belonging to His Majesty and to private persons has arrived from Peru and inquires how much of it can be conveyed to the kingdoms of Spain this year. The season is so advanced and as the fleet has not arrived, if Your Lordship approves the said money of this year can be conveyed to Spain in the two stout ships that I have here. They are to be the *Capitana* and the *Almiranta* of the fleet and are hired ships. Their owners are Chaves and Martin Monte¹ and they have come under bond from Spain with orders that the money is to be delivered to them, to be carried by them to Havana where they are to join the fleet of New Spain which will be there all the month of June. There is nothing more for me to tell Your Lordship. May Our Lord guard your very illustrious person, etc.

From Nombre de Dios, May 14th, 1579.

Conforms to the original, (signed) Pedro de Rada, Chief Secretary.

¹ For an account of the subsequent loss of Master Martin Monte's ship, laden with its valuable cargo, see Appendix to Part III, notes to Nos. 19 and 20.

APPENDIX TO PART III

LIST OF FURTHER DOCUMENTS BEARING ON THE SAME SUBJECT WHICH ARE PRESERVED IN THE ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS, AT SEVILLE, IN A BUNDLE ENTITLED "SIMANCAS, REAL ARMADA, PAPELES PERTENECIENTES A LAS INVASIONES Y ROBOS QUE HIZO EN LA MAR DEL SUR EL CORSARIO DRAKE, INGLES, AÑOS 1575-1587." REFERENCE, E. 2, C. 5, L. 2-21.

1579.

I

Judicial inquiry into the return to the port of Callao of the two vessels...sent in pursuit of Drake. February 15th, 1579.

2

Extracts made by order of the Most Excellent Viceroy of Peru from the evidence given in the judicial proceedings brought by His Excellency against some residents of the City of Los Reyes and other persons for having returned to the port of Callao with the two ships of the fleet which had been sent to chase the English Corsair (who entered this South Sea by the Strait of Magellan) on the day immediately after they had gone forth to pursue him, turning back while he was still in sight. (While dated March 28th, 1580, this document comprises depositions made between February 16th and March 26th, 1579.)

NOTE.

This document comprises the depositions of eleven witnesses, amongst them the Licentiate Cepeda, President and Licentiate Recalde, Judge of the Royal Audiencia; Camp-Master Pedro de Arana; Master Miguel Angel; Captain Juan de Santillana and other officials and citizens of Lima. Five wealthy Spanish gentlemen were tried for going ashore after the return of the vessel—their plea being that they were merely volunteers, not paid members of the expedition and, having been very seasick, were in great need of fresh clothing and other necessities.

Two of them were condemned to accompany the second expedition and pay certain fines; the others to very heavy fines which were, however, partly remitted.

3

Notarial certificate of the delivery of a certain sum of money for the manufacture of Artillery to be used against the fleet of Francis Drake. Lima, March 12th.

4

Information given by the Audiencia of Panama about His Majesty's treasure which was taken in the South Sea by Francis Drake. March 16th.

5

Agreement made by the Audiencia of Panama about the expenses for war against Francis Drake. March 19th.

6

Circular letter for the ports of the South Sea, giving notice of the arrival of three ships which have been seizing and robbing Indians. Arica, March 29th.

7

Account given to His Majesty of the expenses incurred in the defensive measures taken against Drake. Guatemala, April 14th.

8

Propositions made by Eraso as to what should be undertaken against Francis Drake. Cartagena, April 15th.

9

Information sent by the Audiencia of Panama of the arrival of the fleet of Drake off the coast of Nicaragua. Panama, May 8th. (Two copies.)

10

Copy of the answer of the Audiencia of Panama to General Cristobal de Eraso. May 19th.

11

Letter of General Cristobal de Eraso to the Viceroy of Peru. May 15th.

12

Second letter from the same to the same. May 24th.

13

Transcription of further agreements made between the Viceroy and the Audiencia of Lima as to what is to be provided and dispatched against the Armada of Drake. May 1st and 26th.

14

Letter of the Governor of Cartagena to His Majesty to inform him that, owing to the precautions taken, the fleet of Drake would be unable to do any harm on that coast. Cartagena, June 1st.

15

Letter of the Licentiate Cepeda to His Majesty. Panama, June 14th.

16

Second letter from the same to the same informing His Majesty that a fleet was being prepared to go in pursuit of Drake.

17

Orders given by the Viceroy of Peru, Don Francisco de Toledo, concerning English Corsairs. November 27th.

18

Letter of Fernando Delgadillo to His Majesty proposing a remedy against this pirate Francis Drake. Seville, Dec. 4th.

1580.

19

Notarial copy of Petitions addressed to the President and Judges of the *Casa de la Contratacion* in Seville by Juan de Bardales, retainer of the Viceroy of Peru, and by Shipmaster Martin Monte Bernardo.

Dated February 10th, 1580.

NOTE.

In this document Juan de Bardales complains "that in the City of Nombre de Dios he had delivered to Martin Monte, the Master of the ship named *Santa Isabel*, a large package of letters and dispatches which the Viceroy was sending to His Majesty concerning matters of great importance...and that up to the present the said Master Monte had not delivered them nor has given sufficient explanation of what has become of the said package."

Bardales requests "that the said Master Monte be ordered to deliver up said package at once, so that it can be sent to His Majesty...and that Alonso de Chaves, Master of the Viceroy's galley, should deliver to him another large package containing the accounts rendered by the Royal officials of Peru...so that either he [Bardales] can take it to the Royal Council of the Indies or it can be sent to the King by the President of said Council, so that His Majesty should be speedily informed of its contents...."

An order having been issued to the above effect, Master Martin Monte Bernaldo rendered the desired account in a document which contains his sworn statement that the said packages were lost with the ship named *Santa Isabel*, etc. which foundered between Nombre de Dios and Cartagena.

In a second petition sent by Bardales he states that Master Monte was under obligation to guard and save those packages, just as he had managed to guard and save all of the gold and silver that was on the lost ship, and just as he had saved the chests belonging to the General Cristobal de Eraso and his men. Bardales maintained that the packages containing the messages and dispatches that were sent from the Viceroy to the King were of greater importance than the gold and silver, because at this particular juncture they were greatly needed. For they contained accounts of what had happened in connection with the Englishman, of which His Majesty has not received a complete and truthful relation. Bardales demanded that Master Monte be punished as his criminal negligence deserved, and that he be given notarial copies of his petitions and of Master Monte's confession, so that these should establish and constitute a record that the Viceroy had written, giving His Majesty a full report of the condition of Peru.

20

Notarial copy of Petition presented by Juan de Bardales, retainer¹ of the Viceroy of Peru, to the judicial authorities at Seville on February 19th, 1580².

¹ "criado." In this and other contemporaneous cases the word "criado," which literally means "servant," was employed to designate a retainer or follower.

² Endorsed "Que se junte con lo de draque en Madrid a 14 de Marzo de 1580 años = El licenciado Ramos."

NOTE.

In this Bardales requested that a judicial inquiry be made, and the depositions taken of those who, with him, were in Lima when Drake made his entry there and who also witnessed the sinking of Martin Monte's ship.

By means of this document Bardales wanted not only to justify his non-delivery of the dispatches, but also to vindicate the Viceroy by establishing that he had taken every possible measure with utmost dispatch, and to furnish the King with at least one official document giving authentic information about the incident reported on in the lost dispatches. Accompanied by four eye-witnesses who had travelled with him from Lima, he presented a petition requesting that they be subjected to an interrogatory consisting of fifteen articles; that their testimony be accepted "*ad perpetuam memoriam*" and that he be given a written testimonial for him "to make use of and present to His Majesty."

21

Transcription of a requisition that was made upon the Royal officials of Nicaragua about the fleet that was armed against Francis Drake. Leon de Nicaragua. March 16th.

22

Judicial inquiry into what occurred with the pirate Francis Drake near Nicaragua, where he careened his ship after having entered the South Sea by the Strait of Magellan—also into the robberies he committed. Concepcion de Veragua. Feb. 27th.

1581.

23

Judicial inquiry made by Don Luis Fernandez de Cordoba, Governor of the province of Veragua in virtue of a Royal Order [dated January 10th, 1580], in order to ascertain the motives which influenced the Judges of the Audiencia of the Tierra Firme not to attack the Corsair, Francis Drake, while he was careening

his ship in the vicinity of Nicaragua. Dated February 27th, to April 20th, 1581¹.

NOTE.

This document comprises the depositions of twenty-four witnesses, consisting of local officials, military, two naval men, a curate and citizens, amongst whom one had been a prisoner of Drake. Another reported the testimony of two other men who had been held as prisoners on "The Golden Hind." The evidence given by both of these witnesses is given in due order in Part IV.

¹ For further documents on the same subject, copies of which exist in the *Coleccion Navarrete*, *Coleccion Sans de Barutell* etc., see the list published by Duro, *Armada Española*, vol. ii, pp. 506-508.

IV

DEPOSITIONS OF FIFTEEN PRISONERS TAKEN BY DRAKE OFF THE COASTS OF SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA, BETWEEN FE- BRUARY 5TH AND APRIL 4TH, 1579.

NOTE.

In presenting the following series of depositions, I have thought it best to observe the chronological order in which the declarants were seized as prisoners by Drake, not that in which the depositions themselves were taken, at irregular intervals, by the judicial authorities. Sarmiento's narrative has already furnished the testimony of boatswain Juan Griego and three other mariners of "La Capitana," the first vessel seized by Drake, at Santiago, Chile. Sarmiento likewise records the evidence given by Antonio Corço who, like the Fleming Nicolas Jorje whose deposition is the first of this series, was taken on Felipe Corço's ship at Arica, Peru. Eight of the first nine sworn depositions pertain to the official inquiry which was instituted at Panama by the President and Judges of the Royal Court, and began on March 16th, 1579, by the taking of the deposition of Master de Anton, who had previously given to Pedro de Sarmiento the testimony which also follows. Depositions 3 and 12 are extracted from the Judicial Inquiry described as No. 23 in Appendix to Part III. Pilot Colchero's deposition was given at Realejo, Nicaragua, on April 15th, 1579, and the testimony of Don Francisco de Zarate contained in his letter dated April 16th, was also written at Realejo, Nicaragua.

When the testimony of five men recorded by Sarmiento is added to the following evidence given by fifteen prisoners and the depositions made by Juan Pascual, which are contained in

Part VIII, it will be seen that the chain of evidence becomes complete and furnishes accounts by eye-witnesses, of the seizure of every ship or boat taken by Drake in the South Sea.

The testimony of the twenty prisoners, thus brought together, reveals that, contrary to the false accusations that were maliciously invented and circulated later on, the only man who was killed during the seizure of a ship by Drake was the Englishman who was slain at Callao de Lima by the Spanish sailors of the ship from Panama, belonging to Alonso Bautista Patagalana.

I

DEPOSITION OF NICOLAS JORJE, FLEMING, TAKEN PRISONER BY DRAKE ON FEB. 5TH, AND RELEASED ON SAN JUAN DE ANTON'S SHIP ON MARCH 5TH, 1579.

In the city of Panama, on March 28th, 1579, in the official inquiry being made by the Royal [Court of] Justice, Nicolas Jorje, a Fleming, a native of "Ansuyque" (*sic*) was summoned as witness.

Having taken the oath in due form, and being interrogated he said that, on the fifth of February of that year he was in the ship of Felipe Corço, in the port of Arica, Peru, wherein there also lay at anchor a ship which had come from Lima laden with merchandise, and with about three hundred jars of wine. At vesper-time there arrived in the same port an English vessel whose Captain was an Englishman named Captain Francis Drake, who carried much artillery, many arquebuses and other arms. Deponent saw that the English ship was accompanied by another which was laden with a cargo of wine destined for Arica and had been taken by the Englishman in the port of Santiago de Chile.

The said Englishman also brought a launch filled with armed men and forthwith seized the ship on which deponent was. Taking possession of her by placing some

of his men in her, he seized thirty-five bars of silver, alloyed with white mercury, and a chest which belonged to men who had come from Potosi and contained small pieces of silver, the value of which deponent estimates as of about five hundred pesos. He burnt another ship which was with him after taking out the wine she contained and transferring it to the ship on which deponent was. The said Corsair delayed there until the following morning when he set sail taking with him the ship which he had brought, laden with wine from Chile, and the ship he took at Arica, on which deponent was. He took deponent with him by force and against his will and threatened to kill him many times as is well known to others. For he said that deponent had deceived him by not informing him that in the port of Arequipa there was a vessel laden with much silver.

When the said Englishman was on his way to Arequipa, he sent his launch to search for the port, and she returned with a ship which she had found in Chule, the port of Arequipa. Deponent saw how the English crew of the launch which was bringing the said ship told their captain that they had found her empty but that it was evident that she had been laden and that her cargo had been removed. They thought that she must have contained much silver, for there were many persons on shore. The crew of the said launch had not dared to go ashore where the boat of the said ship lay, so they had taken the empty ship and were bringing her to him. Then the said Englishman realised that the inhabitants of the port of Arequipa had received a warning from those of Arica and hurried on to reach Lima. In order to do this he abandoned, about eight leagues off the coast, in sight of land, the three ships he had taken; one in Chule; one in Arica and the other in Arequipa. Before leaving them, opposite to the Valley of Camana, between Arequipa and Lima, he took

from them much wine and other things, but left much wine and much timber in them. He hoisted the sails to the tops of their masts and let them drift without any crew. Deponent does not know what happened to them.

Thus the said Englishman came to Lima and deponent came with him. As he surreptitiously counted them, it appears to deponent that the Englishman brings seventy-one or two persons (one more or less) with him. Amongst these there are only thirty men who are fit for warfare, for the others appeared, to deponent, to be of small account.

Before reaching Lima they met a bark bound for Valles, which is near, and belonging to a man named Francisco de Truxillo, a resident of Lima. Deponent knew its captain, named Gaspar Martin, and from him the English captain made inquiries as to whether there was gold and silver in the ships lying in the port of Callao de Lima. The said Gaspar Martin told him that the ship of Miguel Angel, which was expected from Panama, as well as the ship of Andres Muriel, carried much silver. He also informed him about the vessel of Sant Juan de Anton which had left Lima a few days previously laden with much silver and bound for the Spanish Main and Panama, and was going to enter several ports in order to take on loads of flour. Deponent particularly remembers that he did not hear Gaspar Martin saying this but that it was the English Captain Francis who told deponent that the said Gaspar Martin had given him the said information. Thus the said Captain Francis entered, with his ship, the port of Callao de Lima at about ten o'clock at night; deponent does not remember on what day of the month.

Deponent saw the Captain himself go in his launch to search for silver in the said ships, but he did not accompany him because they left him on board of the ship. When they returned he learnt that they had cut the cables of

the ships that lay at anchor and had not found anything to take. They did however seize the ship of Alonso Bautista which arrived that very hour from Panama, and was laden with merchandise. They robbed her of a quantity of stuffs and took her away with them, although when they seized her, her crew killed an Englishman¹. At a distance of four or five leagues they cast her off, with the three men and a negro who were in her. Two or three hours later deponent heard that they were saying, on the Englishman's ship, that it seemed as though two ships were coming out of Lima. Although the Englishman said that this could not be, deponent saw that he made his ship make sail, as though he were trying to escape. Deponent saw the said two ships and thought that if they were really pursuing the Englishman they would overtake him. Off the coast near the port of Malabrigo the Englishman met a bark bound for Lima laden with merchandise and native produce, and from her he took many things and threw them into the sea, and also seized the pilot named Domingo Martin from whom he inquired for the whereabouts of the ship of Sant Juan de Anton, which was carrying much silver. When he heard that she had passed that place a short time before he left the said bark and went on in search of her. Arriving at the port of Payta he took a bark and carried her out to sea where he cast her off, taking from her the pilot named Custodio Rodriguez. On the very next day he seized the bark of Gonzalo Alvarez that was bound for Lima from Panama with a cargo of merchandise². He took some things and cast her off, taking from her a negro who said that he had been a Cimarron in Panama. Within two or three days

¹ Considering the accusations brought against Drake and his men of having cruelly slain the crew of this ship (see Part XIII) it is interesting to learn from an eye-witness, under oath, that the only man killed during the fray was an Englishman¹

² See the testimony of one of the passengers on this bark, p. 144.

he met the bark of Bravo, coming from Guayaquil and robbed him of the gold and silver he carried, but set the bark free.

On the first day of this present month he overtook the vessel of San Juan Anton near the cape of San Francisco and seized her and robbed her of all the gold and silver and all else that she carried, belonging to His Majesty and private persons. Deponent heard it said there that this amounted to more than three hundred and sixty thousand pesos. He did not kill anyone whatsoever. On the contrary he treated them well and kept the said ship with him for five days and then released her with all the persons he had seized, and deponent came with them.

During the time when he was held as prisoner by the said Englishman, deponent saw that he carried, as a pilot, a Portuguese. Deponent does not know him and was not able to ascertain his name; but he is of low stature; is dark complexioned, has a long beard and is not very gray-haired, though aged about sixty years, rather less than more. Deponent learnt from others and from the said pilot that about fifteen months ago they had left England in five ships and had spent four or five months at Port Saint Julian, a very good place situated at the mouth of the Strait of Magellan. There they cast away two ships and gathering themselves into the three others, they had passed through the Strait of Magellan. This lies in $51\frac{1}{2}$ deg. and in its narrowest part it is not a quarter of a league wide. Deponent did not gather how much time they took to pass through the strait, but learnt that after entering the South Sea they had encountered a storm and been separated from the other two ships of which they have heard nothing since. In the five ships, when they left their country, there were three hundred and twenty men. Deponent saw that in the ship of the said Captain Francis he has five heavy pieces of artillery at each side, two at the poop and two others

above, making in all fourteen pieces. They have many kinds of arms and fireworks for fighting and are very well provided with small arms such as pistols, arquebuses, arrows and a kind of device for setting fire to sails. Deponent heard them state that they could either go out of the South Sea and return to their country the way they came, which was a short route, or by way of China.

What he has said and declared is the truth under the oath he gave and his age is forty-two years. This was read to him, he ratified it and did not sign because he said he did not know how.

He was asked whether he heard the said Englishmen discuss anything concerning the Cimarrons of this kingdom and answered that he heard the said Captain Francis saying that he loved them, speaking well of them and enquiring every day whether they were now peaceful. It seems to deponent, from what he heard him say, that the said Captain Francis has a very great desire to see them again. Deponent heard him say that the said Cimarrons had conducted him to the clump of mangrove trees, near the orchard belonging to Maria Alvarez, on the headland of Panama and that from there he had seen its royal buildings. It seems to deponent that if the said captain had with him more men, he would attempt some raid on land like the one he already made. But because he has but few men he now acts warily and is making haste to return to his country.

This is the truth under the said oath. Before me,

GABRIEL DE NAVARRETE.

2

DEPOSITION OF CUSTODIO RODRIGUEZ, SEAMAN¹.

In the city of Panama on April 13th, 1579, the official deposition was taken of Custodio Rodriguez, mariner, who navigates in this South Sea. Having taken the oath in due form and promised to speak the truth, on being questioned he answered that while he was in the port of Payta on the coast of Peru, one day of February of this year, a ship and a launch arrived there with Englishmen, whose captain was Captain Francis.

They took from deponent's said bark sixty jars of wine, two boxes of wax and some other things, leaving all the remainder of the cargo, which consisted of wine, in the bark.

He took deponent with him, but did not do any harm in the said port.

The said Corsair inquired from deponent how many days had passed since Sant Juan de Anton had left the port and deponent answered that it had been a little over two days. As the said tyrant had received word that Sant Juan de Anton carried much silver, he did not delay at all and with full sail made haste to overtake him.

Immediately after leaving Payta, off the point of Parina, he took the ship of Gonzalo Alvarez which was bound for Peru with a cargo of merchandise from Panama. He took no stuffs whatever from her and, releasing her, let her go her way. Then he met Bravo's ship, coming from Guayaquil and seized her, robbing the gold she carried and some of the tackle and other things she was bringing to this city of Panama. After taking what he chose he let the said Bravo go with his emptied ship.

¹ "hombre de la mar."

On the following day he overtook the ship of Sant Juan de Anton off Cape San Francisco, which is where one crosses over to come to Panama. He took all the gold and silver and reals she carried, registered and to be registered, which amounted to a great sum, for the boat that transported it to the Corsair's ship was loaded five times. When the said Corsair saw this great quantity of gold and silver he displayed amazement and wonder at seeing such a great amount of treasure. Deponent heard him say that he had now come to believe in the great treasure that there was in the South Sea¹. From the said ship he also took some bags of flour, preserves, salt pork, sugar and many gifts and things included in her cargo. He kept her with him for six or eight days, robbing her contents. In order to do this he went into the open sea, saying that he did so because two vessels had left Lima and were coming after him.

At the end of this time he released the said ship, with Sant Juan de Anton and all his company as well as deponent.

He had treated them well, with the exception that he made them eat meat on Friday and in Lent. This was because they were Lutherans and gave them to eat what they ate themselves.

Deponent noticed that the said Corsair's ship was of about two hundred tons and carried eighteen pieces of heavy artillery (four being of bronze and the remainder of cast iron) also many arquebuses; many kinds of weapons and firearms. Deponent saw that he carried what was said to be more than sixty hundredweights of powder. It seemed that he carried seventy or eighty men of which fifty appeared to be very good men for fighting. Deponent

¹ "le ovo decir este testigo que acabava de creer el gran tesoro

heard the said captain say that he had left England, with a licence of the Queen, to rob¹ and had started with five ships, that he had been under way for sixteen months, having come by the Rio de la Plata to the port of Saint Julian where Magellan had been. He wintered there for six months. It is a very good country and giants live there. He had lost two of the said ships and had distributed their men into those that remained.

Deponent cannot remember the number of men with which he had left his country. The three ships passed through the Strait of Magellan and after dissemboguing from it were separated from each other by a storm. He has not seen them since but says that they are to meet in the Moluccas, on the route of China.

He robbed a ship in Chule and another in the port of Arica, which carried certain bars of silver; and he abandoned both ships, empty, in the open sea.

He entered the port of Lima and cut the cables of the ships.

The pilot who is bringing him is named Hernan Perez. Deponent knew him well because he had been a pilot in this sea. He is a Portuguese and is the man who, twenty years ago, seized much money and ran away. He had not been heard of since until now².

Although deponent is a Portuguese and knew the said Hernan Perez well, the aforesaid pilot would not reveal his identity to deponent. Yet he made inquiries about certain

¹ "oyo decir...al dicho capitan, que avia salido de ynglaterra con licencia de la Reyna a robar...."

² This and further identifications of Nuño da Silva with a criminal, whom he may have resembled, are proved false by the fact that no doubt upon his right to bear his name appears in any of the documents relating to his trial by the Inquisition. After a captivity of four years da Silva moreover returned to Spain and after having had audiences with King Philip II was taken into his service and given passports bearing his name, and all of which could not possibly have occurred had inquisitorial research brought forth any evidence of previous guilt.

women living in Sonsonate, where the said Portuguese pilot has a wife.

What he has said and declared is the truth under his oath. He signed this with his name and ratified it, declaring his age to be of fifty years. (When this was given him to sign he said that he did not know how to write, for which reason he did not sign.) The witnesses were Baltasar de Melo, chancellor and alderman and Marcos de Hontañon, both residents of Panama.

Before me,

GABRIEL DE NAVARRETE.

3

DEPOSITION OF GASPAR DE MONTALVO, TAKEN PRISONER
BY DRAKE ON THE 21ST OF FEBRUARY, 1579¹.

In the residence at Minas, on the river of Santiago, on the seventh of April, 1581, the Illustrious Captain Pedro Martinez Clavijo, Governor and Captain-General of the Province of Veragua, ordered Gaspar de Montalvo, residing in these said mines, to appear before him and took and received his oath by God our Lord and a sign of the Cross which he made with both hands. Under this oath he promised to declare the truth and being interrogated said: that on a day in February of the past year 1579, while he was on his way from Panama to the coast of Peru and at a distance of about five or six leagues from the Port of Payta deponent and other passengers who were in the bark of Gonzalo Alvarez² were taken prisoners by Captain Francis and his men. Up to that time no one in Panama or in all this country had ever heard about the coming of the said Englishman.

¹ Extracted from Document 23. Appendix to Part III.

² According to Nicolas Jorje this bark was taken on the day after Drake entered Payta, i.e. February 20th.

But deponent then learnt, from the Englishmen themselves, that they had entered this sea by the strait of Magellan. Sixteen of these Englishmen, well equipped with arms, came alongside of the bark in which deponent was in their launch which carried a piece of ordnance at the prow. The bark of Gonzalo Alvarez immediately surrendered, because those on board saw, at a distance of an arquebuse shot, the ship of said Englishman which seemed to them to contain a great number of men.

Deponent did not, however, go aboard of her. He and his companions were held as prisoners for three hours and then they were released by the said Englishmen who sailed away on the route to Panama. At that time the latter had not yet taken the ship of San Juan de Anton, because they were making inquiries from those on board the bark whether they had met with any ship on their voyage thither. After deponent reached the coast of Peru he learnt how the said Englishmen had taken, off the Cape of San Francisco, the ship of San Juan de Anton and had robbed her of much silver and gold belonging to his Majesty and to private persons.

This news was known throughout Peru a month later, having been spread everywhere. It seems to deponent that the Judges at Panama learnt the news of the entrance of the said Corsair into the South Sea at the beginning of March of the same year¹....

¹ The remainder of this deposition relates only to the measures taken by the Panama authorities.

DEPOSITION OF THE PILOT BENITO DIAZ BRAVO, TAKEN
PRISONER ON THE LAST DAY OF FEBRUARY AND
RELEASED ON THE FIRST OF MARCH.

In the city of Panama on April 3rd, 1578, in the official inquiry, the usual oath was taken from Benito Diaz Bravo, pilot of this South Sea.

On being questioned he said that what he knows about the matter is, that on the last day of February he was on his way to this city on his ship, carrying the register he had made in the city of Santiago de Guayaquil, of the gold and silver he carried in the said ship. That morning, in the vicinity of Los Quiximies, between the capes of San Francisco and of Pasado, he met a ship of English Lutherans whose captain was an Englishman whom they call Captain Francis. He seized deponent and his said ship and robbed him of all the gold and silver and other things that he carried, which were tackle, maize, salt pork, hams and many other things. These belonged partly to private persons or were partly destined for the provisioning, at His Majesty's expense, of the soldiers in this city and for the ships and men who are to go to the Philippines. He took deponent with him until the next morning at ten o'clock. During that time the said Corsair placed pieces of artillery in deponent's ship and tested her sails, and feeling satisfied with her, proposed to carry her with him. Subsequently, however, he decided to return her to deponent, and had the artillery taken out of her.

Deponent believes that he did this because he realised that he had too few men to distribute into two ships and the launch. Thus he released deponent and gave him back his ship, depriving her, however, of her sail and top-sail and of her anchor, all of which he threw into the sea. Deponent believes that he must have done this so that

his ship, which was a good sailer, should not be able to give warning about the Corsair. From the latter deponent understood that he was going to search for San Juan de Anton's ship because he had been told that she carried much silver.

During the time which deponent spent with the Corsair he noticed that the ship carried fourteen pieces of artillery. Twelve of these were placed in the ship all ready for fighting. The other two were taken from below deck when they were conveyed to deponent's ship, and the latter does not know whether there were others stored below the decks of said ship.

It appeared to deponent that, counting the men on the ship and those on the launch, the Corsair carried eighty men and many arquebuses and other kinds of arms, all of which deponent saw while alongside of the Corsair's ship. For he did not enter the said ship, nor was he allowed to do so. Since then deponent has reason to believe that the reason why the said corsairs did not take him to their ship was because deponent knew the Portuguese pilot who is being brought by the said Corsair. For, from what he had heard the pilot Custodio Rodriguez say, who was taken prisoner by the Corsair, the latter's pilot is an individual who, twenty years ago, arose in rebellion, at the point of Santa Elena, in this South Sea, and took a quantity of gold pesos. The sum total of what the Corsair robbed from deponent's ship, registered and to be registered, seems to him to be eighteen thousand pesos of gold and silver, more or less. The damage done to his ship and by loss of the other things seized or thrown into the sea amounts to about four thousand pesos, more or less.

After deponent had been liberated by the Corsair and came here, he learnt that the latter had taken Sant Juan de Anton's ship bound from Lima and laden with gold and silver.

During the time which he spent with the said Englishmen he learnt from them that they had come through the Strait of Magellan and had reached land in 55 deg. where they met with great cold. After the Corsair had robbed and released him, deponent repaired his ship and sailed from Puerto Viejo for this city on the 19th of March.

Just as he was about to sail a canoe arrived with a letter which has been shown to the President and Judges of this Royal Court. This letter contained the news that two English ships had arrived at the Guayaquil river and that they had killed a pilot because he refused to guide them up the Guayaquil river.

According to the news received it is considered certain that these ships which are now said to be at the river of Guayaquil are also English. They are said to have come in the company of the said Captain Francis and to have entered the South Sea with him by the Strait of Magellan¹.

Deponent remembers that after the said Captain Francis had robbed what he carried in his ship, one of the Englishmen on board asked deponent what arms were those he carried on a flag on the main-mast of his ship.

Deponent replied that they were the arms of King Philip, our sovereign. An Englishman told him to take them down. When the said Captain Francis heard that they were the arms of His Majesty he said "Leave the arms of King Philip where they are, for he is the best king in the world." Thus they did not take down the said flag.

What he has spoken and declared is the truth, under his oath, and he is thirty-four years of age. He signed his name, and when the deposition was read to him he ratified it.

(Signed) BENITO DIAZ.

Before me,

GABRIEL DE NAVARRETE.

¹ The false report concerning the lost "Marigold" and the "Elizabeth" recurs here.

5

DEPOSITION OF FRANCISCO JACOME, CLERK, TAKEN
PRISONER ON THE LAST DAY OF FEBRUARY AND
RELEASED ON THE FOLLOWING DAY.

NOTE.

The following deposition is of special interest as being that of a man who was "hanged" by Drake's orders. Those who read da Silva's bare statement of this fact in Hakluyt¹ naturally inferred that the operation terminated fatally. John Drake, however, explains that he "was hanged" [to make him confess] and was afterwards "released." The incident has been referred to as "the one serious charge we have of Drake's having used cruelty to his prisoners²."

On reading the clerk's own description of the "hanging" one cannot but be impressed by the truly Spartan quality of the mind of this youth of twenty-one, described by da Silva as "a half-breed negro boy," who could recount, without formulating a complaint, what he seems to have accepted as a perfectly legitimate and customary method of testing his innocence.

On the same day, month and year aforesaid for said inquiry the oath in due form was taken from Francisco Jacome, clerk of the ship of Benito Diaz Bravo which was robbed by the English Corsairs.

On being questioned he said that what he knows about the case is that having come as clerk of the ship of the said Benito Diaz Bravo, he was on her when she sailed from the port of Guayaquil for this city of Panama. On reaching the vicinity of the Quiximies on the last day of February they met a ship and a launch, belonging to Englishmen who robbed the aforesaid ship of all the gold she carried which, registered and to be registered, amounted to about

¹ See p. 266.

² Corbett, *op. cit.* vol. i, p. 273. The pilot Colchero was however treated in the same way. See his deposition, p. 106.

eighteen or twenty thousand pesos, a little more or less. They also took from her much tackle and other things which had been embarked at Guayaquil at the expense of His Majesty and of private persons as provisions for the men engaged in the war at Ballano, for sending to the Philippine Islands and for rigging the vessels that are bound thither.

The said Corsairs selected what pleased them and took it to their ship. What they did not require they cast into the sea. They kept Bravo's ship with them as company until the next morning when, at nine or ten o'clock, they released her, throwing her topsail and anchor into the sea.

Immediately after taking the said ship in which deponent came as clerk, the Englishmen transferred to their ship this deponent, also Luis Desplugas, Francisco Martin, Juan de Escobar and Montalvo who came as passengers.

They saw that in the ship and launch of the English, of which one so-called Captain Francis was in command, there were from sixty to seventy men. It seemed to deponent that fifty of these were fighting men, the remainder mere rabble.

Deponent heard Captain Francis say that he had entered the South Sea by the Strait of Magellan and had left his country with five ships. They had gone together to the coast of Guinea and then crossed separately; they had passed land in fifty-five deg. where it was very cold. He had taken a ship in Chile which he robbed and had entered Callao de Lima where he cut the cables of the ships. He said that all the ships in this South Sea were in his power¹. He made inquiries about the ship of San Juan de Anton, stating that he came in search of her. Deponent and those who were with him were unable to give him

¹ "que todas las naos de esta mar del Sur estaban debaxo de su mano."

information about said ship, and the said Englishman told them that she was within fourteen leagues from where they were and that, after taking her, he was going to rob the coast of Nicaragua and that, if God spared his life, he would return here from his country within two years with six or seven galleons.

Deponent saw that the said Englishman carried four heavy pieces of artillery at each side of his ship, as well as two at the poop and two at the prow. Two other heavy pieces were taken out from below deck and transferred to the ship on which deponent came. Deponent saw that the Englishmen, like men whose profession is warfare, carried many arquebuses and all kinds of arms. On the day after seizing them, the Englishmen took out the said pieces of artillery which they had placed in the ship on which deponent came, and liberated him.

After having set him free, as well as the ship on which he came as clerk, the said Englishmen returned in a launch and carried him back to their said ship and wanted to hang him, demanding from him the gold which they said that he had concealed in the ship. As deponent had not hidden anything whatsoever and was unable to reveal anything to them, they hanged him by the neck with a cord as though to hang him outright, and let him drop from high into the sea, from which they fetched him out with the launch and took him back to the ship on which he had come. It was thus that he parted from them¹.

The ship of the said Benito Diaz Bravo proceeded to Manta for repairs. As she was about to sail for this city on the nineteenth of the present month of March, an Indian

¹ "...llevaron este testigo al dicho su navio y lo quisieron ahorcar pidiendole oro que decian que lo traya escondido en el navio y como no tenia este testigo ninguna cosa no pudiendo les descubrir nada lo colgaron para ahorcarle de la garganta con una soga y le dexaron de alto caer a la mar y con la lancha lo sacaron y lo tornaron al navio donde venia y asi se aparto de ellos."

canoe arrived with a Spaniard bearing a letter containing the information that Englishmen, in two ships, were off the river of Guayaquil. It is believed and held for certain that these are not the said Captain Francis, but other Englishmen. Notice was received that the latter had hanged a pilot named Rivas because he would not take them up the said river¹.

Deponent has since learnt, having heard it publicly spoken about, as a proclaimed and notorious fact, that Captain Francis has robbed the ship of Sant Juan de Anton which was laden with gold and silver from Peru and that he did so on the very day after he had robbed the ship of the said Benito Diaz Bravo.

What deponent has declared and said is the truth of what he knows and observed under his oath, and he signed his name and declared his age to be of twenty-one years. When it was read to him he ratified it.

Before me,

GABRIEL DE NAVARRETE.

6

DEPOSITION OF JUAN PEREZ MEDINA, PASSENGER ON BENITO DIAZ BRAVO'S SHIP.

...Juan Perez Medina...said that he had embarked as a passenger on Benito Diaz Bravo's ship when the latter sailed from the port of Guayaquil to this city. Having been robbed on the way, by Lutheran Corsairs, Brav

¹ Notice is drawn to the fact that both the above witness who was present when this letter arrived, and its recipient, whose deposition follows, state that the pilot Rivas had been hanged (ahorcado) by the Englishmen, whereas in the notarial copy of the identical letter (given in footnote, p. 153) it will be seen stated that they had killed the pilot by stabbing him with a dagger (a puñaladas). It would seem as though the original text had been tampered with later, in order to magnify the cruelty of the Englishmen.

entered the port of Manta in order to repair the damage done to his ship by said Lutherans. Having accomplished this he desired to set out again for this port, and deponent embarked again as passenger. Just as they were hoisting sails an Indian canoe arrived on which was a Spaniard who came to the said ship to deliver a letter that was forwarded to deponent by Pedro de Alva, the Justice in ordinary of Puerto Viejo. Deponent brought this letter with him and has shown it to the President and Judges of this Royal Court¹. It related that Englishmen were off the river of Guayaquil and had hanged the pilot, named Rivas, of a

¹ These officials gave an order that a notarial copy of this letter was to be made and kept with the other documents relating to this investigation. It is thus possible to trace to its origin the false accusation which developed later into the charge that was made against Drake and his men to Burleigh by the Spanish Ambassador, the refutation of which will be found in Part XIII.

The writer of the letter, which was dated from Yauco on Saturday, March 14th, 1579, was the Friar Gaspar de Palma who, in good faith and great alarm, transmitted hearsay reports which actual facts prove to have been absolutely untrue.

The following is a translation of the main part of the friar's letter :

"...what has happened here is that a courier arrived, a fortnight ago, from Payta, to give warning to those of Guayaquil that two ships of Lutherans were coming thither to seize the galley that lay there. They had taken a pilot at Payta for this purpose but because they started in pursuit of a vessel that is bound for Panama carrying two hundred thousand pesos they had not yet entered Guayaquil.

"Since then further news has reached here from the spies in the service of Don Francisco de la Puna. They say that four ships (two very large and of a different pattern from those in use here, and two launches) are off Saint Clara and from there are on guard so that no one can pass out of nor enter the river of Guayaquil.

"On last Tuesday, the tenth of March, another report reached me while at Guayaquil. They say that the Lutherans seized Rivas, one of the Guayaquil residents and demanded of him that he was to take them up the river to the town of Guayaquil. He told them that he did not know how to take large ships up the river, having only had experience with small barks such as his. Upon this they stabbed him with a dagger and killed him. Two Indians from Payta told this news. They were in the bark with Rivas and when they saw that he was being killed they threw themselves into the sea and swam to Tunbes, where they spread the news. The people of this village are in great fear and although they consist of not more than a hundred and are badly armed they are all ready to lay down their lives.

"What causes us the greatest anguish is that no help can come to us from Quito because the Quiyos Indians have again rebelled and all are

bark that they seized, because he would not take them into the city of Guayaquil. It is publicly known and notorious that English Corsairs, who say that they came through the Strait of Magellan, robbed the said ship of Benito Diaz Bravo and took from her twenty thousand pesos in gold and silver. Since deponent arrived in this city he has also learnt that the said Englishmen robbed [the ship of] Sant Juan de Anton which was bound from the City de los Reyes, laden with gold and silver. According to what he has heard published, he is led to believe that the Englishmen who hanged the said pilot Rivas are on other vessels and are not of the ships which robbed de Anton and Bravo¹. This is the truth etc. and he signed with his name and declared that he is thirty-four years of age.

JUAN PEREZ MEDINA.

Before me, GABRIEL DE NAVARRETE.

up in arms. It is hoped that the Viceroy will send help from Lima because a message was sent him at the same time as that sent here.

"We are all greatly perturbed, not knowing whether they will take Sant Juan de Anton's ship. It is said that they wanted to take this port.

"I beg your Honour to make haste to inform me whether de Anton's ship has arrived there. If it has it is obvious that it was not taken.

"The remainder of what I have to tell you is that Pedro de Leon wrote from Panama to the Rev. Friar Francisco Hortiz that our Rev. Vicar General was going to embark in Mondragon's ship which was to sail from Panama on February 15th. If they have arrived pray inform them of all this and tell them that not a bird can escape them [the Englishmen] if it gets within their reach and that they do not spare anyone's life. Give the same information to all ships that will arrive there....

"Your servant and chaplain,

"FRAY GASPAR DE PALMA."

¹ Special attention is drawn to this statement of Medina's conviction that Drake and his men were not guilty of the reported (and purely imaginary) crime.

7

TESTIMONY (A) AND SWORN DEPOSITION (B) OF SAN JUAN
DE ANTON, THE MASTER OF THE TREASURE-SHIP
TAKEN PRISONER BY DRAKE ON MARCH 1ST, 1579.

NOTE.

It is from Nuño da Silva that we learn the new and interesting detail concerning Master San Juan de Anton or Antona the owner and pilot of the treasure-ship, who is said to have been born in Biscay, namely "that he had been brought up in England and spoke English." If this was really the case, then it is not impossible that his surname may indicate that he was associated in some way with the port of Southampton which, in contemporary Spanish documents, is usually rendered as Anton or Antona¹.

Curiously enough, the name San Juan, which is so unusual in Spanish, corresponds to the English family name St John and this, in turn, is associated with Southampton in an English document, dated 1558, which is preserved at the Public Record Office and contains a mention of a John Lord St John, who was then living at Southampton².

Of course the coincidence may be purely accidental and there exists no evidence to corroborate Nuño da Silva's statement, which may merely have been intended to cast suspicion on de Anton who, in turn, freely uttered his grave suspicions about the identity of the Portuguese Pilot³.

If de Anton spoke English he certainly took pains to conceal the fact from the Spanish officials at Panama, for in his deposition given there, he explains that he was able to learn certain facts about Drake's voyage, etc. "because some of his men spoke Spanish" and he also mentions his being questioned by "an Englishman who spoke clear or intelligible Spanish⁴."

It will be seen, in the deposition of de Anton's clerk, that the

¹ Hampton Court is likewise designated as "Anton corte."

² State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, vol. xiii, 65.

³ See de Anton's testimony, p. 172.

⁴ "un ingles que hablaba claro el español."

name of the boatswain of the treasure-ship was Sancho de Anton, presumably a relative of the owner.

Two interesting documents have been preserved containing the testimony of Master San Juan de Anton concerning the seizure of his ship etc. by Drake.

One is his sworn deposition made before the Royal Court of Panama, which instituted an official inquiry, ten days after his release, on March 16th, 1579.

The other is Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's graphic rendering of the account which de Anton gave him personally, at about the same time. Both documents are published here *in extenso*, for although both relate to the same events, each one contains details which are lacking in the other, and between them they furnish a vivid description which is rendered still more complete by the deposition of San Juan de Anton's clerk which follows.

By collating John Drake's record of the words uttered with the parallel records contained in the above three documents, it has been possible to reconstruct the sentences which were exchanged between the Englishmen and Don Juan de Anton when his treasure-ship was attacked. The result has been the exposure of a curious blunder which has found currency and requires correction. This will be found discussed in footnote 3, p. 157.

A

TESTIMONY OF SAN JUAN DE ANTON AS RECORDED BY PEDRO DE SARMIENTO¹.

At noon on Sunday, the first of March, San Juan de Anton, being out at sea in his ship, between the Cape of San Francisco and the point "de la Galera," saw, close to land, a ship which was going the same way, bound for Panama. He thought she was a bark from Guayaquil and bore towards her. At about nine o'clock at night, the English ship crossed the course of San Juan's vessel and, immediately, came alongside. San Juan saluted but the Corsair did not return the salute. Believing her to be a

¹ Extracted from the narrative of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, p. 78.

ship from Chile which was then in rebellion¹, Master de Anton came to the side. By that time the English were already grappling his ship shouting: "Englishman! strike sail²!" Some one said: "Strike sail, Mr Juan de Anton; if not, look out, for you will be sent to the bottom."

San Juan answered: "What England is this [which gives me orders] for striking sail? Come on board to strike [the] sails yourselves!"³ On hearing this they blew a whistle on the English ship and the trumpet responded. Then a volley of what seemed to be about sixty arquebuses was shot, followed by many arrows, which struck the side

¹ It is through a reference to the rebellious condition of Chile at that date that I obtained the clue to the meaning of the expression *navio de Chile alzada* which so puzzled the editors of *Documentos Inéditos*. They, however, made matters worse by inserting a comma between "Chile" and "alzada" and stating in a footnote: "a word must be missing here although there is no hiatus."

² "Inglés man amaina!"

³ "y San Juan respondió 'que vinagrera es esa para amainar? venid a bordo a amainar'."

In the above Spanish text, as published in *Documentos Inéditos*, the word "vinagrera" = "cruet-stand" figures, and its use by Master Juan de Anton has always appeared to me not only incongruous but absurd. While in Spain I consulted many dictionaries, and several scholars well acquainted with nautical idioms, ancient and modern, without finding a single precedent for its employment. It has now become my personal conviction that instead of "vinagrera" we should read "Inglaterra." According to John Drake, who must have remembered accurately what was shouted from the ship he was on, "Captain Francis demanded them to strike in the name of the Queen of England" = Inglaterra. While San Juan de Anton does not record this demand, he told Sarmiento that he had questioned in turn, as was perfectly natural, the authority by which he was asked to strike sail. By substituting the word "England" for "cruet-stand" we obtain the query that would naturally be made by an amazed and bewildered ship-master, accustomed to the pacific Spanish monopoly of the South Sea, who doubted whether he heard rightly when requested to strike in the name of the Queen of England and probably considered this some form of hoax.

When two words contain as do "vinagrera" and "Inglaterra" not only the same number of syllables but the same final ones and the identical vowels in the same order, the substitution of one word for another can easily occur, particularly when spoken and taken down under dictation. The above is respectfully submitted to the consideration of those who have hitherto accepted the text as it appears in

of the ship, and chain-balls shot from a heavy piece of ordnance carried away the mizen and sent it into the sea with its sail and lateen yard. After this the English shot another great gun, shouting again "Strike sail!" and, simultaneously, a pinnace laid aboard to port and about forty archers climbed up the channels of the shrouds and entered San Juan de Anton's ship, while, at the opposite side, the English ship laid aboard. It is thus that they forced San Juan's ship to surrender. They inquired for the pilot and captain from the selfsame San Juan de Anton, who was alone on deck. He would not answer them. Not seeing any other person on deck, they seized him and carried him to the English ship where he saw the Corsair Francis Drake, who was removing his helmet and coat of mail. Francis Drake embraced San Juan de Anton, saying: "Have patience, for such is the usage of war¹," and immediately ordered him to be locked up in the cabin in the poop, with twelve men to guard him.

On the following Monday morning, at nine o'clock, the Corsair went to breakfast on San Juan's ship. He had, meanwhile, left orders with his chief sergeant to prepare his table for San Juan de Anton, as though it were for himself.

Francis Drake remained until noon on the captured vessel, examining the riches she carried, and returned to his ship in the afternoon. Departing from the point where he had taken the vessel, he sailed with a fair wind, under the mizen sail and foresails, towards the north-west on the route to Nicaragua, and for three days to the north-north-west, and to north, a quarter to north-west.

During the first three days of fair weather, he transferred, by means of the pinnace, all the silver from San Juan de Anton's vessel to his ship, keeping meanwhile, as prisoners

¹ "ten paciencia que usanza es de guerra."

on his Admiral's ship the Spaniards whom he had found on the plundered vessel, who were ten or eleven persons, five being sailors and the remainder passengers.

The registered silver seized amounted to 362,000 pesos in bars, reals and gold. Of this 106,000 belonged to His Majesty and the rest to private individuals. This is what was registered but, with what was on board beside this, the total amounts to more than 400,000 pesos.

He took all the victuals he wanted and two casks of water, tackle, sails, canvas and a cable.

On the following Saturday, March 7th, he sent all the prisoners back to the plundered vessel and told San Juan de Anton that he could go where he willed¹. San Juan de Anton sailed to the north-east towards the Cape "de Corrientes," but kept sight of Francis Drake for about two days and observed him sailing for a long time towards the north-north-west.

¹ According to the author of *The Deeds of Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, Viceroy of Peru: "Drake...asked the Master named San Juan de Anton for the invoice of the cargo, who delivered up what he had, item for item, without omitting anything, for which he received from Drake a receipt in full as his discharge" (*Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, 4º; *Marques de Cañete, por Dº Don Cristobal Suarez de Figueroa*. Madrid, 1614, lib. v).

The poet Lope Felix de Vega Carpio recounts this episode in the following melodious verses:

"Donde un navio que yva desde Lima
A Panama sin armas y soldados
Tomaste con la rica presa opima
De un million y seis cientos mil ducados
Donde España ha tenido en mas estima
Aquellos tus donayres celebrados,
Quando el Maestre y del navio ministro
Pediste de la plata el gran registro."

"Las margenes del cual, por recibido
Satisfaciendo con estrañas veras
Firmaste de tu nombre las partidas
Como si el dueño de la plata fueres,
Hasta las letras hoy estan corridas
De que esta burla a su registro hizieras
Volviste el libro que fue en tanto estrago
Para el dueño gentil recibo y pago."

Before releasing San Juan's vessel, the Englishman made several gifts to those whom he had robbed. He gave thirty or forty pesos in cash to each. To some he gave pieces of stuff from Portugal, and agricultural implements, such as hoes and pruning-knives; to others, two of his own cloaks adorned with trimmings. To a soldier named Victoria he gave some weapons. To San Juan de Anton he presented a firelock saying that it had been sent him from Germany and that he prized it highly. To the clerk he gave a steel shield and a sword saying that he did this so that the clerk might appear to be a man-at-arms. To San Juan he gave two casks of tar, six hundred-weights of iron from Germany, and a barrel of powder. To a merchant named Cuevas he gave some fans with mirrors, saying that they were for his lady. And to San Juan de Anton he gave a silver-gilt bowl, in the centre of which his name, "Francisqus Draques," was inscribed¹.

On releasing San Juan de Anton he gave him a safe-conduct written in English, and signed "Francisqus Draques," saying that he gave this so that, in case San Juan should meet the other two English ships which had remained behind, they would do him no harm nor rob him over again². As he was Captain-General of all, they would obey his order and he made much of the benefit he was conferring on San Juan by giving him this passport, saying that the Captain of the other two ships was a very cruel man and that, if he came across them, he would not leave one man alive; but that with this safe-conduct they could go their way in safety.

After this each one went his above-mentioned way, and San Juan reached the Cape "de Corrientes" within two days.

San Juan de Anton says that it appeared to him that

¹ Compare Vaux, pp. 182 and 242.

² See text of safe-conduct, p. 15.

the Englishmen on the ship were eighty-five, more or less. Twelve of these were gentlemen and cavaliers¹. According to hearsay he understood that one of these was the son of Juan Dracles², who was defeated at Vera Cruz, in New Spain, by the Viceroy of Mexico, Don Martin Enriquez.

Francis Drake complained of the Viceroy of Mexico, saying that he had broken his word to John Hawkins and had not observed the King of Spain's warrant of safety. Francis Drake stated that he had been present and had lost seven thousand pesos in that defeat and that three hundred Englishmen had been killed.

He added that for the reason that the King had, since that time, been his treasurer for the sum that had been taken from him ten years ago, he now wished to act as treasurer of the King's estate³. Therefore the silver which he took from the King was for himself; the silver taken from private individuals was for his Queen, his Sovereign Lady.

He said he cared nothing for the Viceroy of Peru nor for all his people⁴. He charged San Juan de Anton to beg the Viceroy of Peru from him not to kill the English prisoners, and said that if they were killed, it would cost more than two thousand heads, not those of people of Spain, but of these parts, adding that if he reached England alive, there would be no one there who would attempt to hinder him from carrying out this threat.

San Juan de Anton told him that since the Englishmen had not been killed up to that time the Viceroy would hardly kill them then. The Englishman asked San Juan

¹ "gentiles hombres caballeros."

² John Hawkins, whose nephew, William Hawkins, was on board. See Sir J. K. Laughton, *Western Antiquary*, July, 1889, vol. ix, p. 16.

³ "y que el Rey habia sido su tesorero de lo que le habia tomado diez años habia, y que por esto él lo queria ser de la hacienda del Rey."

⁴ "no se daba nada por el virey...."

what he thought was the Viceroy's intention concerning them. He answered that they would probably be sent to Chile to serve as soldiers in a garrison where many were stationed to fight against the Indians. Francis rejoiced greatly on hearing this and became pacified; for he displayed much anger whenever he spoke about them¹. The Englishman showed San Juan de Anton a navigation chart of more than two rods in length, saying that it had been made for him in Lisbon and had cost him 800 cruzados². He said that there were four possible routes for him to take from this South Sea for England. One was by the Cape of Good Hope and India; another by Norway; another by the Strait of Magellan. He would not name the fourth (but I [Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa] hold for certain that it is the one I have mentioned above, by Cape Mendocino with exit to Labrador and Tucos³). He said that he thought of returning to England very shortly, in less than six months.

San Juan de Anton responded that he would not be able to return even in a year's time, because he was in a "cul de sac⁴." The Englishman told him that he knew nothing about this being so and that he was satisfied with his proposed route and was going to follow it.

San Juan de Anton says that he believes, beyond a doubt, that the Englishman is going by the coast of

¹ "y Francisco se holgo mucho de oirlo y quedo aplacado, porque se enojava mucho cuando trataba dellos."

According to Spanish official documents the English prisoners, John Oxenham, Thomas Xeruel and John Butler were hanged at Lima by the civil authorities at the beginning of November, 1580, fully eight months after San Juan de Anton made his deposition.

² See Nuño da Silva's statement that Drake had a copy of Magellan's chart, p. 303, and Padilla's letter informing King Philip II that Drake had been in Lisbon, Part XI, No. 6.

³ The mythical strait of Anian. The reflection in parenthesis was intercalated by Sarmiento.

⁴ "Costal" = *lit.* a bag.

Nicaragua and New Spain and that it would have been prudent for their fleet to have crossed thither from Manta as was proposed. For the Englishman told him that he was going to take in water at the island of Caño near Costa Rica because he had no more. Everybody at Panama is of this same opinion.

The sum total of the gold and silver that this English Corsair took in the South Sea, between the port of Valparaiso, where he plundered the *Capitana* named "Los Reyes," and the cape of San Francisco where he robbed San Juan de Anton, amounts to 447,000 pesos in coin, without counting the value of much porcelain, jewels of gold and silver, precious stones and some pearls, as well as stuffs and victuals.

The damage done to the ships which he set adrift in the gulf together with what he seized in the bark of Chilca which was worth more than 2000 pesos, has been unanimously estimated as of another 100,000 pesos. No estimate has been made of the many small things that he took in different places.

This pirate carried fifteen heavy pieces of artillery of cast iron and much ammunition. This is what was learnt from San Juan de Anton and others who were held as prisoners on board of the English ship....

B

JUDICIAL INQUIRY MADE AT PANAMA¹. DEPOSITION OF SAN JUAN DE ANTON.

In the City of Panama on the sixteenth of March of 1579, the President and Judges of the Royal Court and Chancery resident there stated that whereas San Juan de Anton,

¹ *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 1, C. 1, L. 2-21.

master and pilot of his ship, had recently entered the port of this city and gives the news that English Corsairs have entered this South Sea by the Strait of Magellan and robbed him of a great quantity of gold pesos belonging to His Majesty and private persons, and committed many other assaults and robberies; in order to give information to His Majesty and ascertain the truth of this news, and the intentions and designs of [the said English Corsairs] so as to adopt proper measures against them, they ordered that a judicial inquiry be made from the said master and pilot, and from the passengers who came in the said ship.

Which judicial inquiry was made as follows :

In the City of Panama on the sixteenth day of the month of March of 1579, the Illustrious Sir Doctor Alonso Criado de Castilla, judge¹, who being the senior, presides over this Royal Court of Panama, ordered the appearance before him of San Juan de Anton, the master and owner of the ship named "Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion," which is at present anchored in Perico, the port of this City, so that he should declare what had happened and what he knows about having been robbed by Englishmen in this South Sea, who took from him the treasure that he was carrying, which belonged to His Majesty and private persons. After having taken from him the oath by God and Saint Mary and the sign of the cross in due form, he said "Yes, I swear" and "Amen," and said and declared as follows.

Deponent, who calls himself San Juan de Anton, had sailed, as master and owner of the aforesaid ship, which was his own, from the City of Los Reyes, the port of Peru, on the twenty-second of January of this present year. He came to the ports of Guaura, Barranca and Truxillo, where he

¹ "oidor" = a judge specially appointed to hear pleadings and decide lawsuits.

embarked a consignment of silver about the middle of last February, and set out on his voyage to this kingdom. It seems to deponent that he carried three hundred and sixty thousand pesos in gold, silver and reals, a little more or less, which were either registered or to be registered and included what belonged to the sailors and to the passengers.

Off the Cape of San Francisco, at noon, they saw a sail which was navigating to this City of Panama. Deponent proceeded on his course, but at about eight o'clock the said sail they had seen changed its course and came toward deponent's ship. At nine o'clock the afore-said sail came alongside the ship of deponent, and at the same time a launch which the Corsair had with him and which deponent had not noticed until then, laid to on the opposite side. As they boarded his ship, they shot two charges of heavy artillery one of which carried off the mizen-mast of deponent's ship. Then immediately they discharged many arquebuses and grape-shot, and entered the ship of deponent who, as he did not carry artillery or arms¹, could not make any resistance.

They robbed him of all the gold and silver and reals that he was carrying in the said ship, of His Majesty and of private persons, which, as he has already said, amounted to about three hundred and sixty thousand pesos.

Without doing any harm to the persons who were with deponent, they went from the ship taking, then and there,

¹ This fact and the official Spanish records of the ship's true name indicate that she could hardly have been called the *Çacafuego* = Spitfire as two English writers explicitly state, giving, however, conflicting evidence and committing the blunder of naming San Juan de Anton "Don Francisco," which was de Zarate's name (See Vaux, pp. 182 and 242). What stands out clearly from the jumble created by da Silva's and the Englishmen's ignorance of Spanish orthography and pronunciation, is that the name *Çacafuego* (pronounced *Sacafuego*) could only have been appropriately given to "The Golden Hind," the captured treasure-ship being called, in repartee, "The Spitsilver."

the fruits, preserves, sugar and edibles that those on board had brought, as well as some flour.

Leaving the said ship, after having robbed her, he kept deponent and his ship with them, under the guard of some Englishmen, for six days, at the end of which he went away and left them.

During the time when deponent was with them he heard them say, and also learnt from those who came with them, the following. He was able to do so because amongst the latter there were men who spoke Spanish. A youth who was with them said that he was born in Seville. The pilot was a Portuguese, but deponent was never able to ascertain his name because he would not tell it. They also brought a Fleming, and said that they had taken him in Arica and burnt his ship there. Deponent learnt how the said Captain Francis had burnt the said ship in Arica and had entered Callao de Lima and searched the ship of Miguel Angel and others which were there, looking whether there was anything to take, and not finding aught, cut the cables of the ships. Near Callao de Lima they robbed the vessel of Patagalana and killed her crew¹. There they obtained information that deponent was carrying much silver in his ship and so they came after her, inquiring for deponent from the barks and ships they met.

Deponent saw that a man named Custodio Rodriguez, the pilot of a bark, was with Captain Francis and the latter told him that he had seized this man at Païta and was taking him with him.

Custodio Rodriguez told deponent that the said Captain Francis had said that he would not rest until he

¹ This statement, to which the other Spanish documents give no countenance, may be an interpolation by a malicious official. There is no suggestion of it in the official reports sent to Spain, or in de Anton's previous testimony and that of the eleven men who brought Bautista Rodriguez Patagalana's empty ship back to Callao.

had taken the silver and gold that deponent was carrying, even if he had to enter inside of the port of Panama in pursuit of it.

Captain Francis also said that he had reached the Strait of Magellan with five ships and had been at the port of San Julian where Magellan had been and where there are a great number of Indians who are giants. The Englishmen were being on friendly terms with these Indians, when one of them said that other strangers like them had killed his father, and that he in turn would kill them. He thereupon drew his bow and killed an Englishman with an arrow-shot. The Englishmen were amazed at the strength of the said Indians, for the arrow passed straight through the man and killed him, and they never found the arrow. These Indians were so tall that the Englishmen looked like boys next to them. In the fight that ensued another Englishman was killed, thus making two who perished there. It was said that Captain Francis had brought, in the said five ships, four hundred men and had sailed from England sixteen months ago.

They wintered for six months in the said port of San Julian because they encountered north winds which were contrary to them. Having departed thence with all five ships they encountered a storm in the strait and two ships had gone to the bottom but the crews escaped and were taken into the remaining ships, each of which had a launch fastened by a cable to her poop.

These three ships disembogued [into the South Sea] from the Strait of Magellan.

Deponent asked the Portuguese pilot what distance there was from shore to shore in the narrowest part of the strait, and the said pilot told him that the distance was so short that an arquebuse shot could reach one side from the other.

When deponent inquired whether the strait was a strait

between islands or mainlands, the said pilot told him that it did not pass through islands but between mainlands¹.

He also related that in order to get there they had come by Cape Verde Islands and the coast of Brazil and had entered the River Plate and had sailed in her for six days. They obtained fresh water at a depth of six arm-lengths and, seeing that it was getting shallower and that there were many islands and shoals, they turned back and left the river.

They followed the coast until they came to the mouth of the strait where the said port which they call San Julian lies and there they found an inscription, written on a stone, which said "Magallanes."

Having passed out of the strait with the said three ships (because two had already been lost), they took in water in forty-one deg. On sailing out to sea they met a storm and rode forty days under bare masts². There two vessels separated from them and Captain Francis was left alone with his *Capitana*. They have never seen nor heard of them since but he suspects that they have gone to stay at the Moluccas, because the sea-chart they carried for reaching the coast of Chile was false³.

After the storm they found themselves in forty-four deg. and then navigated for twelve days to the north-north-east. Not finding land they turned with the ships [*sic*] to the north-north-west and, after twenty-four days reached

¹ "el dicho piloto le dixo que no era de islas sino de tierra firme."

² "estuvieron quarenta dias arbol seco."

³ "Que sospechava que avian ydo a parar a malucas porque la carta de marear que trayan para tomar la costa de chile era falsa." The word "falsa" as employed here appears to state that the chart was "falsified," which corroborates the following statements by Fletcher. "Wee following the directions of the common mapps of the Spanyards were utterly deceived for of malicious purpose they had set forth the mapp false, that they might deceive strangers, if anny gave the attempt to travaille that way, that they might perish by the running off to the sea rather than touch with anny part of the land of America..." (Sloane MS., Vaux, p. 79).

the river of Valdivia on the coast of Chile and entered it for about half a league. As the current was very strong they came out again and arrived at an island named La Mocha, near Valdivia [whose inhabitants are] at war. This captain and his men landed and took in water and the Indians shot at them with arrows and killed two of his men.

From thence they went to the port of Coquimbo where he says there were about four hundred men on foot and horseback who killed two Englishmen.

They next went to the port of Santiago de Chile where he found a ship named "La Capitana" which used to belong to Muriel and was laden with wine from Chile for the port of Arica and contained gold. (They showed him a large cross with a Christ on it, with emeralds, which they had taken from said ship and they asked deponent why, if that was God, he had not safeguarded the ship. They said this in contempt of the holy crucifix, saying that God was in Heaven and asking what was the use of such things¹.)

From thence he went to the fort of Moro Moreno and built the launch he has with him, for he brought the timber for this purpose on his ship. He next came to the port of Arica wherein he found two ships and, in them, forty odd bars of silver. He burnt one of these ships and took the other one out to sea and sank it.

There he took a Flemish sailor² from one of the said ships, who told deponent that from Arica they had sent warning by land to Chile, the port of Arequipa where there was a ship. When the said English captain arrived he found the said ship empty and without any men on her and clearly showing that she had lately been lightened

¹ See Fletcher's description of this crucifix. Vaux, p. 102.

² Nicolas Jorje, whose deposition see on p. 135.

and risen more than a hand's breadth higher. Besides, her boat was on the shore, without oarsmen.

When the said Englishman understood that the people had been forewarned and that the ship had been loaded with silver, he reproached the Fleming, accusing the latter of duplicity and threatening to kill him¹. He took the said vessel out from the port and cast her off out at sea so that she should be lost.

From thence he came to Callao de Lima and close to it came across a bark bound for Cañete, from which he got word about the ships that lay in that port. The occupants of the bark told the said English captain that Miguel Angel's vessel, that was there, contained one thousand and five hundred barrels (*sic*) of silver and that deponent's ship had recently sailed for this kingdom with a great sum of silver and was coming along, stopping at different ports to take on consignments of flour. The said captain arrived at the said port of Callao and, leaving his ship outside, he went in his launch and entered the ship of Miguel Angel, in which he expected to find much silver, but found nothing. He also went aboard two other ships which were ready to come hither to this kingdom and, not finding silver or gold in them, he cut the cables of all the ships in harbour.

From thence he came to the port of Payta, but, before arriving, took a bark laden with a cargo belonging to the friars. He robbed this, doing much harm, and also took a man from this bark and made inquiries about the whereabouts of deponent's ship.

He entered the said port of Payta and seized a bark that lay there and took from her what he wished and also her pilot whose name, as has already been declared, was

¹ Compare this hearsay evidence with the Fleming's own account, p. 136.

Custodio. Running along the coast he took a ship which was coming from Guayaquil carrying tackle and other things for furnishing vessels and men in His Majesty's service. He threw her cargo into the sea and sent her crew on land in the bark of said ship. He kept the pilot and two stewards of the said ship with him for a day, saying that he wished them to come with him to this kingdom. For this purpose he had three pieces of artillery transferred into the said ship, but when he found that she did not sail well, he cast her off with her pilot and crew. The pilot's name was Bravo.

He also took the ship of Gregorio Alvarez bound from this kingdom for Lima and took from her a negro, who was said to be a Cimarron, and whom he has carried off with him. The said Captain Francis has also had with him, for the last six years, a negro who used to belong to Captain Gonzalo de Palma.

He also took some wine and other things from the said ship and let her go her way. Then he came in pursuit of deponent in full sail and overtook him at a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues from this city, off the Cape of San Francisco and the Punta de la Galera, where he seized and robbed him as has already been declared.

The said Captain Francis told deponent that he would put him in irons to make him pilot him to Panama. Deponent said that he would bring him.

As the said Englishman experienced such contentment over the quantity of gold and silver that he robbed from deponent's ship, it was his pleasure to release deponent and let him go. Deponent saw that the said Englishman was much feared by his men. He kept guards and when he dined they sounded trumpets and clarions.

When deponent asked him by what way he thought of returning to his country, the said captain showed him

a map of the world and sea chart¹ on which he demonstrated that there were three ways by which he could do so. One was by the Cape of Good Hope, *via* China; the other by way of Chile, by which he had come. He would not tell which was the third way².

An Englishman who spoke intelligible Spanish asked deponent how many negroes there were in Vallano. Deponent answered that he did not know more about them than that they were [now] peaceful. The said Englishman laughed at this and told deponent that the said negroes were [like] brothers of the said Captain Francis and that they had much affection for him.

The same Englishman also asked deponent in what part of the coast of Nicaragua one could careen a ship. Deponent saw how the said captain asked the said pilot Custodio, whom he was bringing along with him, whether Cabo Blanco was a good place in which to procure water and careen a ship; to which the latter answered "Yes."

It appeared to deponent that the said Captain Francis carries with him in his galleon and launch about eighty-five men only fifty of whom seemed to be fighting men, for the remainder are boys and rabble³. He carries seven pieces of cast-iron artillery at each side on the lower deck and two large cast-iron pieces at the poop near the helm.

On the upper deck he carries six heavy pieces, of which two are bronze, and deponent understood from the said captain that he carried more artillery inside of his ship.

Deponent saw that he also carried many kinds of arms for fighting, such as fire-bombs and darts with a certain kind of artifice for setting fire to the sails of ships; chain balls for breaking top-masts and other deadly work;

¹ "un mapa mundi y carta de marear."

² Compare with the description of the same incident by de Anton's clerk, p. 178.

³ "chusma."

tackle and rigging, and many arquebuses, corselets, pocket pistols, trappings, pikes and a great quantity of many different kinds of arms.

Deponent saw all this because he spent six days on the said captain's galleon and the latter showed it all to him and to those who were with deponent in the said ship. The said Captain Francis said to deponent: "I well know that the Viceroy will send for you so as to obtain information from you about me. Tell him that he has killed enough Englishmen and that he is not to kill the four who remain, for if they are killed it will cost him more than two thousand Spaniards. These will be hanged in the presence of the Viceroy so that he shall know of it and the heads will be sent him."

Deponent saw that he carried many pick-axes, many sickles and other agricultural implements, also much linen stuff and other things.

He gave to deponent and to the passengers who came with him, many pick-axes and linen stuff and other things.

The said captain told deponent that the Viceroy of New Spain had not kept his word with "Joan Acle¹" and that this had cost the said captain seven thousand ducats. He had come to recover this sum and carried an authorisation from the Queen so that he could commit robberies for this purpose and all that he took over and above this was for the said Queen who had made him leave his home although he had not wished to do so².

Amongst the things that the said captain gave deponent was a gilt corselet and he also wanted to give him ammunition and powder and other things, but his soldiers told him not to.

¹ John Hawkins.

² Attention is drawn to Drake's own statement about the agreement made between Queen Elizabeth and himself, which is incidentally recorded here.

The said captain said to deponent that he had accomplished the task of discovering a good route from Spain and that it would henceforth not be necessary to come to Nombre de Dios nor to undergo such difficulties, and merchants would not have to spend so much money.

And if the King of Spain did not give them the licence to trade, which they desire, [agreeing to] pay him his dues, they would come and carry away the silver.

The said English captain gave deponent a negro whom he had seized in Arica, because said negro, in the presence of deponent, knelt on his knees before the said captain and begged him to have mercy and let him come away with deponent because his master was advanced in years.

The said captain said to him: "Since thou wishest to go thou canst go with God's blessing, for I do not wish to take anyone with me against his will¹."

He then requested deponent to send the said negro back to his master, and thus he gave the negro to deponent who has brought him with him. He does not know his name.

It seems to deponent that the galleon of the said captain is of about two hundred tons. She is covered with seaweed and greatly needs to be careened and cleaned.

The said captain asked deponent whether the Island de Lobos, beyond Payta, towards Lima, was a good port for careening purposes.

It seems to deponent that this was said to put him off his guard, because deponent believes and holds it for certain

¹ "el dicho capitan le dixo pues te quieres yr vete con dios que yo no quiero llevar a nadie contra su voluntad y dixo a este testigo que se lo enviase a su amo y asi se lo dio y lo trae consigo y no sabe como se llama."

It is evident that Drake's own words are faithfully recorded here and that he fluently employed the Spanish mode of addressing inferiors.

De Anton's gratuitous rendering of an incident so entirely creditable to Drake's character throws an equally creditable light upon that of the gallant Biscayan Captain, who, like de Parraces, made no mention of having been wounded by the English.

that the said captain is going to the coast of Nicaragua. For he has no water and deponent understands that it is thither that he wishes to go, because deponent heard his pilot say to Custodio (the pilot who was seized at Payta), that the Portuguese pilot who was brought by the Englishman asked him whether he knew certain women of Sonsonate. For this reason he suspects that he is the same pilot who, fifteen or twenty years ago, found himself with a great quantity of gold and silver of His Majesty and private persons and fled with it and never was heard of again. They said that the pilot who had acted thus was married in Sonsonate, and for this reason and because the Portuguese pilot inquired about women of Sonsonate and as follows, deponent believes that he is the identical one who fled with the great sum of silver as has been said.

For this Portuguese pilot asked deponent whether ships entered into the selfsame port of Panama or went to Perico. When deponent answered that they did not go to the port of this city but to Perico the said pilot said: "Formerly they used to go in and out of the port of Panama." Deponent believes that the aforesaid pilot is very skilled in the navigation of this South Sea.

It seems to deponent and he holds it for certain and beyond a doubt that the said Captain Francis is going to the coast of Nicaragua to obtain water and careen his ship. Moreover this would be on the route by which the said Captain Francis said that he could return to his country.

What he has said is the truth of what he knows about the case, under his oath, and he signed his name and ratified it and declared his age to be thirty-five years...

SANT JUAN DE ANTON.

Before me, GABRIEL DE NAVARRETE¹.

¹ A brief summary of this deposition is given on the last pages of the records of the official inquiry and contains the express statement that Drake had done no personal harm to anyone on board.

8

DEPOSITION OF DOMINGO DE LIZARZA, CLERK OF THE
SHIP OF SAN JUAN DE ANTON, TAKEN PRISONER
ON MARCH 1ST.

...being questioned, deponent said that he had come as clerk of the ship named "Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion," of which San Juan de Anton was master and pilot. She sailed from the port of Callao of the city of Los Reyes of Peru on the twenty-second of last January, to come to this city and was laden with silver and gold, belonging to His Majesty and private persons. She carried three hundred and sixty thousand pesos, a little more or less, in gold, silver and reals, registered and to be registered. On the coast of Peru she took in consignments of flour and other things in this line, and received silver and gold in the port of Truxillo and registered it, completing the total of three hundred and sixty thousand, a little more or less.

Pursuing the said voyage, on the first day of March, after midday, in the vicinity of Cape San Francisco, they perceived a ship which was navigating on the same course as that followed by San Juan de Anton's vessel. Towards nightfall, so that one could only see her indistinctly, she turned towards the said vessel of San Juan de Anton and, approaching near, called him by name, telling him to strike sail or else he would be sent to the bottom of the sea, to which San Juan de Anton replied that he would not¹. Then the said vessel shot heavy artillery twice. One shot carried off the mizzen-mast of San Juan de Anton's ship and the other passed high up near the main-mast. Then they immediately shot many arquebuses and a launch, filled with Englishmen, came alongside San

¹ "San Juan de Anton respondió que no quería."

Juan de Anton's ship and they entered her because she was powerless to resist. They took away, in the launch, the said San Juan de Anton and Sancho de Anton, the boatswain, and about thirty Englishmen armed with swords, shields and arquebuses, remained on guard in San Anton's ship. They locked into her cabin at the poop all of the passengers and sailors as well as deponent, and kept them under guard.

The said Englishmen then navigated where they willed, turning away from the coast and sailing out to the open sea. On the following day they opened the chests and taking the silver and gold they found in them, transported it to the Englishmen's ship, the captain of which is the Captain Francis Drake. They said that he was a native of Plymouth in England and is married there. During the next three days there was very fair weather at sea and he removed all the bars of silver that San Juan de Anton carried and passed them from one ship to the other. Beside the silver and gold he also took flour, sugar, preserves, salt pork and many other things. On the sixth day of March he released them, giving them San Juan de Anton's said ship, so that they could go their way. He killed no one. It seems to deponent that the said captain has with him about eighty men, sixty of whom are good for fighting. He carries twelve pieces of cast-iron heavy artillery, five at each side and two at the poop. Beside these deponent saw that they took out from below deck four other pieces, two of which were of bronze. He also carried two other pieces of bronze in the ballast and a great quantity of pikes and arquebuses in the poop-cabin, many firearms, and many things in the way of armour to be worn under one's linen or hat, in warfare. Deponent saw all this because the said Englishmen took him to their ship during the time that they were together. It seems to him that the said ship is of one hundred and eighty

tons. He heard the said Captain Francis and others of his company say that they had left England about sixteen months ago in five ships. Deponent does not remember hearing him tell how many men he had brought, but he recalls his saying that they had come by the Rio de la Plata and had been in the port of Saint Julian where they found an inscription which read "Magallanes" and which was a good port and a good country. They had found giants there and had intercourse with them. By the side of the said giants they appeared like boys. While speaking to them at one time others came armed with bows and arrows and killed two Englishmen. They lost two ships and but three passed through the strait. After taking in water, at a place in forty-three deg., they met with a storm which separated them and they had not seen each other since. They have been in Chile, Valdivia and La Concepcion, where they took a ship and built the launch they have. They came by Arica and Chule, the port of Arequipa, and entered Callao de Lima, taking ships and casting them off out at sea. They cut the cables of those that were lying at anchor in Callao and came on in great haste inquiring for San Juan de Anton, for they had gathered information about him.

Deponent heard the said Captain Francis say that there were three ways of getting out of the South Sea so as to return to his country. One was the way he had come. The other he showed to be the pass of Vallano. The said San Juan de Anton said to him "that off there the way was closed." Thereupon the said Captain Francis would not say any more and locked up the map of the world on which he had been demonstrating to deponent and those who were with him what they had been discussing.

Since deponent was held as prisoner by the said Englishmen he has learnt from a man named Custodio

Rodriguez and a certain Nicolaś, a Fleming, who came with the Englishmen, who had taken them off the coast of Peru, that the said Captain Francis had robbed the ship of Benito Diaz Bravo on its way from Quito. It was carrying twenty thousand pesos of gold and much tackle and other provisions for ships which pertained to His Majesty's account and were destined for the ships of the Philippines.

Deponent also heard the said Captain Francis say that he had come to rob by command of the Queen of England and carried the arms she had given him and her commission¹. Deponent also heard him say that he knew very well that they had killed and hanged, in Panama, many Englishmen² and that four of the same company were now alive in Lima. He wanted to write to the Viceroy telling him not to hang them, for he swore that if they were hanged it would cost more than three thousand heads of men of Peru, all of which heads he would cast into the port of Callao de Lima.

What deponent has said and declared is true under the oath he gave and he declares that his age is of thirty years. He signed and ratified this and added that the said Englishmen are Lutherans, and their deeds and speech prove them to be such. They eat meat in Lent and on Friday and do not keep the commandments of God as Christians do. They also manifest themselves as being very much against the Pope³.

(Signed) DOMINGO DE LIZARZA.

Before me, GABRIEL DE NAVARRETE.

¹ "que el venia a robar por mandado de la reyna de Ynglaterra y traya sus armas y provision." Compare with de Anton's version, p. 173, and see da Silva's description of Drake's arms, p. 318.

² Members of John Oxenham's company.

³ "manifiestan estar muy mal con el Papa."

9

DEPOSITION OF CORNIELES LAMBERT, FLEMISH MERCHANT,
TAKEN PRISONER BY DRAKE ON MARCH 20TH, 1579¹.

In the City of Panama, on the eighth day of May, 1579, the President and Judges of the Supreme Court [Audiencia] and His Majesty's Royal Chancery, residing in the said city, gave information that, during the previous night, there arrived at this court certain persons who were amongst those who were robbed by Captain Francis and the other English corsairs who have come to this South Sea. The persons have given an account how the said Corsair robbed them off the Island of Caño which is near Nicaragua, in the Province of Nicaragua, while they were on their way from there to the port of this city. The said Corsair had careened his vessel there with the intention of proceeding by the China route. As His Majesty's service requires that complete information concerning the above be obtained, so that suitable measures might be adopted, the order was given that Ventura de Medina, the Chief Constable of this court, was to be entrusted with the mission to receive the declarations of said persons.

Before me,

LUIS SANCHEZ.

On this day, the eighth of May, 1579, the said Señor Ventura de Medina, Chief Constable of this court, in fulfilment of the order he had received, summoned to his presence Cornieles Lambert, merchant, who said that he was a native of Leyden, in the States of Flanders; was

¹ *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, Patronato, E. 1, C. 5, L. 2-21. The text of the deposition of Giusepe de Parraces only was published in Spanish by Peralta, *op. et loc. cit.*

twenty-four years of age; resided in the city of Seville, and had been in the Provinces of Nicaragua for the past four years. He had departed from the latter place and from Costa Rica on the bark belonging to Rodrigo Tello which was bound for the port of this city.

After he had been duly sworn, had promised to tell the truth, and was questioned, he said:

That what he knows about what happened was as follows: On the seventeenth day of the month of March of the present year he had sailed in the bark belonging to Rodrigo Tello, which left the town of Nicoya, and the port and river of Pamar, to come to this city. The master of the said bark was Rodrigo Tello, who came as her captain. When they arrived near the island of Caño, which is about forty leagues, more or less, from their point of departure, on the twentieth of March, they were made prisoners by the crew of a launch belonging to Captain Francis. The said crew consisted of twenty-six or thirty Englishmen who conveyed their prisoners for a distance of two leagues, to a small bay close to the said Island of Caño, where there was a large English vessel of as much as two hundred tons.

They took deponent and his five companions and presented them to the Captain Francis Drake who comes as captain and master of the said vessel and launch. The remainder of those who were taken prisoners remained in the bark and were afterwards transferred to the launch.

Asked to state how many men were in the vessel and launch of the said Captain Francis, and what kind of men they were and what sort of arms and war supplies they carried, he said that the said Captain Francis had with him eighty-six soldiers. Amongst them are two negroes and three boys; all the others are men who are employed by the said captain and work in all kinds of handicrafts pertaining to his vessel, and as soldiers. The said vessel carries twelve large pieces of cast iron and two of

bronze that weigh from sixteen to twenty hundredweights. She carries powder and other kinds of ammunition and artifices and fire-balls and chain-balls; also many bows and arrows and arquebuses; steel shields and pikes and other arms, such as partisans and coats of mail. His vessel is well fitted out with all these things and he told the deponent and his companions that he carried a great quantity of powder.

Questioned whether he had seen the victuals carried by the said Corsair, he said that he saw that he had in his vessel much flour and meat, fish and Spanish wine, preserves and vegetables, and a quantity of biscuit. They were taking in a supply of fresh water and had obtained an abundance thereof.

Questioned whether he had heard what were the Corsair's designs about his course of navigation; whether he told him what route he was following and for what purpose he had withdrawn into that small bay; whom he understood to be the pilot, who directed the said vessel; was there a Portuguese on board, and did deponent know his name?

He stated that, as he had already said, the vessel was in the small bay and after the Corsair seized Rodrigo Tello's bark he began to transfer into her, for the purpose of lightening his vessel, his artillery, which he placed therein in disorder, as well as many locked chests. Then he hove down all the gold and silver that he had, and repaired both sides of his vessel so far as she was out of water. He said to deponent that he wished to find a beach where he could careen his vessel because she leaked. After deponent and his companions had been taken prisoners, he [the Corsair] had a search made along the coast for a beach suitable for careening and, as none was found, he said, to deponent and his companions, that he wanted to return to the said Rodrigo Tello the bark he had taken from him, but that he abstained from doing so, because he did not

know in what necessity he might find himself out at sea, because his vessel was leaking, and that, even if the bark belonged to his own father, he could not desist from taking her. Being thus in need of going to Acapulco or some other port of New Spain for the purpose of careening, he inquired many times what kind of ports were Acapulco, Zonzonate and the other ports of that coast. In order to find a port to his liking he seized Alonso Gonzalez¹, a citizen of Seville, who was the pilot sent by His Lordship, the Viceroy of Mexico, to this port, to act as pilot of the Armada of the China route. The Corsair promised to leave him at the first of the Philippine Islands that they would reach. The said Alonso Gonzalez declared that he was no pilot, and knew nothing beyond certain parts of China where he had been. He begged the Corsair to leave him behind, saying that he was a married man. The said Captain Francis told him that he would not want him to do more than to reconnoitre land, because all that concerned [the determination of] latitude and the knowledge of the Star would be attended to by himself². The said Alonso Gonzalez persisted in his request to be left and the said Captain said that it was imperative that he should accompany him; he would pay him for doing so, and that he would give him, what he afterwards did, a hundred pesos in pieces of eight, to send to his wife. The said Alonso Gonzalez sent them to the Judge Palacios to forward to his wife, and in the presence of the said Captain Francis, and with his permission, the said Alonso Gonzalez wrote letters to the Viceroy of Mexico, to the said Judge, and to his wife, in which he informed them of what had happened.

It seemed to the deponent that, on account of his countenance and manner, the pilot whom the Corsair carried

¹ The real name was Alonso Sanchez Colchero, for whose deposition see p. 193.

² " ...en quanto a la altura y conocimiento de la estrella...."

with him belonged to the Portuguese nation. But he did not learn his name because he did not speak, nor evidently wished to speak. The most deponent heard about him was from Martin de Aguirre, who was taken prisoner with deponent in the said bark, and was one of the pilots sent by His Lordship the Viceroy. This pilot had overheard one of the said Englishmen inquiring from the said Portuguese pilot, whether he would be in his native country in eight or nine months. The Portuguese pilot had answered that in less than four months his inquirer would be in his native land, but he had not been heard to utter another word.

Questioned whether the said vessel was in a condition to sail thence, whether he knew what route she was going to follow, and how many persons of those held as prisoners remained with the said Englishman, he stated that he had talked in Flemish with a soldier who was in the said vessel and spoke Flemish. He learned from him that he had heard his companions say that Captain Francis wanted to give the prisoners the launch in which they had come, because he was obliged to take Rodrigo Tello's bark with him, for they would have to take to the open sea for more than seventy or eighty days. They were going to strengthen the bark with a solid wale so as to enable her to carry more sail and be fit for the long voyage she would have to make in order to reach the Moluccas; for the launch could not make this crossing.

He [the Corsair] took with him only the said Alonso Gonzalez Colchero, the pilot of the China route. He seized the dispatches sent by His Lordship the Viceroy of New Spain to the Royal Audiencia; to Don Gonzalez Ronquillo, and to the Judge Sandia, who is the Governor of China. With these the Corsair also seized the said pilot's two navigation charts and collection of sea-charts, and set sail. Deponent and his companions saw him sailing towards

the Realejo, so as to take the route for the coast of New Spain. This is what deponent knows, etc....

He is thirty-six years of age, slightly more or less....

(Signed) CORNYELES LAMBERT.

(Countersigned) VENTURA DE MEDINA.

IO

DEPOSITION OF GIUSEPE DE PARRACES, PASSENGER,
TAKEN PRISONER BY DRAKE ON MARCH 20TH, 1579¹.

On the above day, month and year, the Chief Constable, in order to make the said inquiry, ordered Giusepe de Parraces to appear before him and took and received in due form his oath and promise to speak the truth. On being questioned, he declared that what he knew was as follows:

He had embarked in Esparza, in the river of San Pedro de Palmar, district of Nicaragua, in the bark of Rodrigo Tello, a citizen of Panama, which was returning to this city laden with native merchandise. It carried thirteen or fourteen passengers in all, amongst them two persons sent by the Viceroy as pilots for China. They sailed on the seventeenth of March of this year, and on the twentieth of the same month and year, at the north of the island of Caño, they met the launch of Captain Francis Drake, who came out with thirty Englishmen, gunners, archers and soldiers armed with shields. These seized the said bark and took it to a small bay two or three leagues distant, where the said Captain Francis Drake was in a large vessel of two hundred tons, a little more or less. As soon as the bark reached the vessel, Drake had the artillery of his vessel transferred to the said bark with the heaviest chests and then cast on the bank of the river the bars of silver contained in his

¹ De Parraces, who, according to a fellow passenger (see p. 190), was wounded, makes no allusion to this in his deposition.

vessel. As the latter rose out of the water, he had her careened and caulked both her sides. While in his power, this witness and his companions were well treated.

The artillery of the said vessel consists of twelve pieces of cast iron and two of bronze, all heavy cannon. He saw in the said vessel a quantity of ammunition, powder and shot, loose and chained—also small chained shot for arquebuses, steel shields and other arms, bombs and fireworks.

The number of men on the said ship is eighty-six, of whom two are negroes and three are boys. The others are all fighting men and workmen, such as carpenters, smiths and coopers, skilled in all kinds of work necessary for the service of the ship. Jointly with this witness there were taken as prisoners Alonso Sanchez Colchero, a citizen of Mexico, and his companion Martin de Aguirre. These were the two pilots who had been sent by the Lord Viceroy of New Spain to this Royal Audiencia as navigators to China, with two navigation maps and a collection of charts. He took from them the parcels of letters which the Viceroy of New Spain was sending to this Royal Audiencia; to Don Gonzalo Ronquillo the General of China, and to Judge Sandia, the Governor of the Philippines.

After the said vessel had been careened, as described, she set sail on the twenty-seventh of March. Following her course, she went to the Island of Caño, where, with the compass, he took observations of the land and of the sun, wrote notes and took his course towards Cabo Blanco. In sight of land he took possession of the bark and all she contained and gave them the launch, in which they came ashore. He then directed his course towards the port of Realejo. He carried with him, as pilot, a man who appeared to be Portuguese. The witness understood, beyond a doubt, that he was a Portuguese. The said Captain Francis spoke in his praise, saying that he was an excellent pilot. The witness believes that the said pilot led them through the

Strait to the South Sea. The witness and his companions spoke to the said pilot, but he did not answer nor speak to them. He only looked at them and laughed to himself, and therefore they did not learn his name. The said Captain Francis, in the presence of the witness, tried to make an agreement with the pilot Alonso Sanchez Colchero, stating that he would only want him to reconnoitre the coast of China; that he wanted to go to the port of Acapulco, which is in New Spain, and from there take the route to China and from there to Goa. He promised to leave him in China and to give him a thousand ducats for his work. He gave him, at once, fifty pesos to send to his wife, because the said Alonso Sanchez was opposed to going and excused himself from doing so, pleading that he was married and was not a pilot and knew nothing of navigation and that he wanted to be left behind. But the said Captain Francis took him with him because, in the register of Esparza, he had been entered as a pilot. And the said Alonso Sanchez made a written declaration that he was being taken by force and against his will, and he was given liberty to write.

He dictated to deponent his letters to the Viceroy of New Spain; to the Judge Palacios, who was in the port of Realejo and to his wife and children and this was done in the presence of an Englishman who knew the Spanish language.

Deponent saw the said Captain Francis go from the cove in person, with the pilots and Rodrigo Tello, to search for a beach on which to careen his ship, as she was leaking. As he did not find a beach that suited him, he inquired where he could go, for which reason the witness believes that he has now gone towards Acapulco or Colima in order to careen his said vessel. The said Captain told the witness, at the time of sailing, that he had filled one-half of the said bark with cargo. He told the others of the bark that

he had wished to leave them their bark, but that he had to consider his own necessity above that of the witness and his companions, and above even that of his own father. For he did not know in what necessity he might find himself on the ocean and that he was going to take the bark on board his ship and fit her out with more oars and a main-top-sail.

This witness saw that the said Corsair carried in his vessel much flour, biscuit, wine, meat, fish, sugar and preserves. The bark that he took from the said Rodrigo Tello was laden with provisions from this city.

The said Corsair, and all his company, the Portuguese pilot, and negroes were all Lutherans, because this witness saw them perform their Lutheran ceremonies. There was a crucifix in Rodrigo Tello's bark which they broke to pieces, trod under foot and cast into the sea. They told the witness and his companions whom they had plundered, that if they did not want to witness their ceremonies they could withdraw to the prow or the poop, wherever they chose; which they did. The Lutherans allowed the witness and the others to tell their Christian beads, as they were accustomed to do before they were taken prisoners.

The said Captain Francis told the witness and the others how he had left three of his ships behind. One of these was a large vessel sailing singly with twenty-four pieces of ordnance, the two others were small ships like the one he was in. It was agreed that they were all to meet in those parts, for they had been scattered by the storm they encountered in the Strait of Magellan.

When they parted, he gave the witness and Juan de Espinosa a safe-conduct in his own writing and language. He told them that this was so that even if taken by his companions the latter would do them no harm and let

He wrote on the outside of the safe-conduct the names of the captains who commanded the ships of which he and all his men say that he is the General. He said that he would be very glad if we met one of the ships of his company so that his men would learn where he was. He said that he carried rather more and not less than half a million in silver, gold and reals. The witness saw many bars and plates of silver which he used as ballast for his ship.

He related how he had robbed San Juan de Anton, and said that three hundred of the bars he carried belonged to His Majesty, one hundred to Corzo¹, and the remainder to private persons.

This is what deponent knows and remembers for the present. By the oath that he has taken he declares this to be the truth, and that his age is twenty-four years, a little more or less.

(Signed) GIUSEPE DE PARRACES.

(Countersigned) VENTURA DE MEDINA.

In my presence,

SANCHO DE CAMARGO.

¹ Presumably to Master Felipe Corço whose ship was seized at Arica by Drake and whose relative, Antonio Corço, was taken prisoner. See the latter's testimony in footnote 2, p. 64. Five merchants of Seville, of the surname of Corco or Corço, which literally means "the Corsican," figure as witnesses in the Ashmole MS. 830. See Part XII, 2, B.

II

DEPOSITION OF DIEGO DE MESSA, PASSENGER, TAKEN
PRISONER BY DRAKE ON MARCH 20TH, 1579.

On this said day, month and year, the said Chief Constable, in order to obtain the said deposition, ordered Diego de Messa to appear in his presence, who was duly sworn and promised to tell the truth.

Questioned, he said that what he knew about what happened was as follows: On the 17th day of the month of March of the present year, he embarked as a passenger in Rodrigo Tello's bark, in the river of Pedro del Palmar, in Costa Rica, a part of Nicaragua, in order to come to this city. They sailed on the same day, there being fourteen persons on board, amongst whom there were ten Spaniards, a negro and an Indian. On the twentieth of the said month they sighted the Island del Caño, and, at about four o'clock of the same afternoon, they saw, from their weather side, a launch which came out towards them in great haste and was being rowed, as there was a calm. When she reached the said bark, she ordered them to strike sail. They refused to do so and prepared for defence. The boat's crew sounded trumpets and discharged arquebuses, one of which wounded Giuseppe de Parraces in the face and arm. Realising their superior power, those in the bark struck sail. About thirty men, arquebusiers, archers and shield-carriers, entered the said bark, saying that they were English, and telling those in the bark that they would have to be taken, as prisoners, to the Captain Francis who was in a vessel in a small bay off the mainland. The Englishmen took them to the said vessel and, when close to her, chose six of their number and transferred them to the said vessel. Deponent and the others were left in the said bark, for the night, under the guard of more than ten Englishmen. In the

morning Captain Francis came, in a sloop, to the said bark, examined the persons on her and her cargo, and immediately returned to his vessel. Shortly afterwards the said Captain Francis returned and passed in front of the bark on which deponent was. He had with him, in the boat, Alonso Sanchez Colchero (the pilot who had been sent by His Lordship the Viceroy of New Spain to this Royal Supreme Court, as pilot for the China route) and Martin de Aguirre. There was also in the said boat a man dressed in black with a long beard. Alonso Perez, who was a fellow-passenger of deponent's, and the others who were in the said bark said that they knew this man very well and mentioned his name, but deponent does not remember it. Alonso Perez said that this man was a Portuguese and had been married in Moguer, the native town of Alonso Perez, and that he was a brother-in-law of Anton Manzera, a citizen of Triana, near Seville. Alonso Perez said that he knew that the said man had run away from Moguer because he had been guilty of unnatural crime. It seemed to deponent that the said man must be Portuguese on account of his appearance¹.

The said boat proceeded to a cove at the mouth of a river close by and then immediately returned to the vessel. The Corsair ordered the sloop (the boat of Rodrigo Tello's bark) and the pinnace (which is the launch already mentioned) to come alongside and he began to load all three, taking from the bark the whole of her cargoes of sarsaparilla and of lumber, and leaving her deck perfectly clear. The Corsair then ordered deponent and the others whom he had robbed to get into the launch, and with the small boat's anchor he fastened the said launch to the poop of his vessel, after having removed all of her sails,

¹ Evidently another case of mistaken identity or malicious slander directed against Nuño da Silva. See footnote 2, p. 143.

oars, arms and rudder. He brought Rodrigo Tello's bark alongside of his vessel and transferred to her the quantity of artillery he carried, also chests and other things, so as to lighten his vessel. When this was done, he made her lie first on one side and then on the other, and spent five days repairing all of her that was above water.

On the 25th of March, at nine o'clock of night, eight Englishmen came in the sloop to the launch with the sails, oars and arms that they had taken out of her. They took the launch to the vessel which was about to set sail and they sailed together until the morning of the next day. On the following day they threw a rope from the vessel's poop to the launch and towed this until the twenty-seventh of the said month when they transferred all the prisoners into the bark. The Englishmen then took out of the launch all the arms and chests that were therein and ransacked the latter of all the money and clothing they contained, after which they returned them to the launch and went in her to the vessel. There the Corsair ordered deponent's five companions, who, as has been said, had been taken to the vessel, to enter the launch, and kept only the said Alonso Sanchez, who had accompanied them.

He gave the men in the launch one keg and a half of water, a bag of flour, and a little maize, and told them to go to the land which was near, and that there they would find all they required. Thus they parted and the Corsair sailed towards the Realejo and the deponent and the others went in the launch to the Rio de la Barranca, two leagues distant, and there they left the launch and went to inform the Judge of what had happened.

The said five companions carried with them some letters which had been given them by Alonso Sanchez Colchero, with fifty pesos in reals that he was sending to his wife; also the letters directed to His Lordship the Viceroy and the Judge Palacios. The Lieutenant of the Governor forwarded

them to the Realejo where the Judge Palacios, who is the Judge of Guatemala, resides. The said Alonso Perez, who is the passenger who recognised the Portuguese pilot, remained in Esparza and only deponent, Giusepe de Parraces and Cornieles Lambert reached this city. This is what he knows and naught else and it is the truth according to the oath he has sworn.

His age is thirty-four years. His deposition was read to him and he ratified it and signed it with his name.

(Signed) DIEGO DE MESSA.

(Countersigned) VENTURO DE MEDINA.

Before me, SANCHO DE CAMARGO,

Scribe.

I, Sancho de Camargo, scribe of His Majesty, and his reporter in this Royal Court, residing in this city, executed what is related above, and had the depositions written on these six sheets which bear my sign in testimony of the truth.

(Signed) SANCHO DE CAMARGO,

Scribe and Recorder.

12

DEPOSITION OF THE PILOT ALONSO SANCHEZ COLCHERO CONCERNING HIS HAVING BEEN TAKEN PRISONER BY THE CORSAIR DRAKE ON MARCH 20, 1579.

In the town of Realejo, in the province of Nicaragua, on the fifteenth of April, 1579, the Licentiate Señor Diego Garcia de Palacios, Member of His Majesty's Council, His Judge in the Royal Supreme Court of Guatemala and Visitant General in his district, states that on this day,

¹ *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 2, C. 5, L. 2-21, No. 16.

before dawn, he was informed by certain sentinels, whom he had stationed to watch the port, that a ship had entered and anchored inside the bar.

In order to ascertain what kind of ship she was or whether she came as a friend or an enemy, he immediately dispatched a bark, filled with oarsmen, to inspect the ship and report on all that happened. It immediately became evident that the ship was one in which came Don Francisco de Zarate and other passengers, amongst whom, it appeared, came Alonso Sanchez Colchero who, with the other ten men, had been taken prisoners and robbed off the island of Caño, close to the port of Nicoya.

After ordering that the said Alonso Sanchez Colchero be led into his presence and having seen and recognised him, Judge Garcia de Palacios required him to take the oath in due form and to state and declare, under said oath, all that had happened to him from the time he sighted the said English vessel, until the present moment, in which he was about to make his deposition. After having sworn by God, Saint Mary, and the sign of the cross, on which he laid his right hand, and promised to state the truth, under oath, he was questioned, and said that what had happened was as follows:

On next Friday, when it will be the seventeenth day of this month of April, five weeks will have transpired since deponent was on his way to the city of Panama by order of His Lordship, the Viceroy of New Spain, in a bark belonging to Rodrigo Tello, which had sailed from the port of Costa Rica with ten or eleven men, passengers and sailors. Arriving on the said Friday at noon, close to the Island del Caño, a launch full of Englishmen came towards them. This launch contained about twenty Englishmen, archers and arquebusiers, who took them prisoners, and led them before an Englishman whom they named "Francisco Draque," who was in a vessel with high

sides, of about three hundred tons, which was anchored in a cove. He had them put into his vessel and kept them there for five days, at the end of which he released the others, and sent them ashore in a launch. The said Englishman would not release deponent, saying that he had been informed that deponent was a pilot for the China route, and that he wished him to conduct him thither. Deponent answered that he was not familiar with that route and begged him not to take him, for he was a poor man and had a wife and children. He begged the said Englishman not to do him so great a harm, and said that he was not a pilot, but only a sailor. The said English captain thereupon answered that this deponent was not to plague him by speaking such nonsense and that deponent had to go with him even against his will and that he would hang him if he talked any more. When deponent realised that he was being taken by main force, he asked for leave to write a letter to His Lordship the Viceroy of New Spain, and to deponent's wife, for which he was granted permission, on condition that the said English captain was to read the letters. The latter said that if deponent wrote anything disadvantageous to him, he would hang him. Thus deponent wrote the said letters in the presence of certain Englishmen acquainted with the Spanish language, who understood everything he said. Suddenly, on the same day, the said Englishman set sail, and navigated along the whole of this coast of Nicaragua. When he arrived, as he did, close to this town he tempted deponent, with many promises of silver and gold, to go with him to England and to become a Lutheran, saying that as soon as he would reach his native country, he would confer great mercies upon him.

When he saw that this deponent showed no disposition to accept his offers he said: "You! you must be a devoted subject of your King Don Felipe, and a great

captain¹!" Then he requested deponent to pilot his vessel into this port, through the bar, so that he could burn a vessel therein, of which the said captain had information that she was being fitted out for the navigation of the China route. The said captain also wanted to burn the town and see whether he could seize the said Lord Judge and hang him for being a servant of the King Don Felipe and a friend of His Lordship the Viceroy. Deponent answered that he had never entered this port and would therefore not dare to undertake to pilot him into it. Then the said captain uttered many threats and promises, and offered him bribes to pilot him into the port. When the captain saw that deponent would not do it he gave orders that he was to be hanged. Twice they placed a rope around his neck and raised him from the ground. When they saw that he was exhausted², they left him alone. When the said Englishman saw that he could not carry out his evil design, he continued his voyage to the port of Zonzonate. When close to the volcanoes of Guatemala they met a frigate in which came Don Francisco de Zarate, from which they robbed a great quantity of clothing. They kept this frigate three days, and on the night when they seized her, they placed the deponent in the iron cage they carried, and left him therein until the following morning. The said Englishman was informed by the persons who accompanied Don Francisco that the latter was a very noble gentleman. The Englishman inquired of deponent whether he knew the gentleman named Don Francisco de Zarate, and said that he would pay deponent very well if he knew and could give information about him as to

¹ Colchero, who displays some animosity against Drake, omits all mention of the fact recorded by the previous witness, that he accepted from Drake and sent to his wife the handsome sum of fifty pesos in reals. See pp. 187 and 192.

² "fatigado," *lit.* tired out.

whether he was a relative or servant or magistrate of His Lordship the Viceroy. Because, if the said Don Francisco was related to the Viceroy he wanted to hang him as such. Deponent immediately answered that he did not know Don Francisco de Zarate, nor knew who he was.

Then the said Englishman told deponent that if he should ever see His Lordship the Viceroy he was to tell him to be on his guard against him or other Englishmen, for they were going to burn him alive and all that belonged to him for having broken his word with John Hawkins at San Juan de Ulua. Afterwards, at the end of three days, the said Englishman promised deponent to release him and he did so, and put him into the ship in which Don Francisco de Zarate also came. He took from this ship a sailor named Pascual, who was acquainted with this coast, so that the said sailor might give information about the ports in which water and wood were obtainable. Deponent saw, as soon as he was released, that the Englishman directed his course towards the port of Guatulco, with the intention of going from there to his native country. The said Englishman took from deponent all the letters he carried and his navigation charts and never returned to him more than two sea-charts and a forestaff. They said that they were going to return straight to their country by the Molucca route.

Deponent observed that the said vessel was of about 300 tons and carried twenty-five great pieces of artillery, many arquebuses, archery, pikes, short pikes, powder, an abundance of ammunition and fireballs. She carried 1800 bars of silver, ten medium-sized boxes of half pesos and pieces of eight; nine small gilded boxes, very well corded, which the Englishman and the other men said contained gold, and another medium-sized chest containing bars of gold, some of which the Englishman took out when he made promises to deponent.

The aforesaid is what happened to deponent and what he saw, and is the truth, according to the oath he swore. He signed it with his name and his age is fifty years.

(Signed) ALONSO SANCHEZ COLCHERO.

Before me, JUAN LUCAS DE VEGA,

Scribe.

I, the said Juan Lucas de Vega, scribe of the said Lord Judge, was present and heard the above deposition, in testimony of the truth of which I here write my accustomed signature and signs.

(rubrics) (Signed) JUAN LUCAS DE VEGA.

13 & 14

TESTIMONY OF DE AGUIRRE, MARINER, AND PEREYRA,
A RESIDENT OF COSTA RICA, WHO WERE TAKEN
PRISONERS BY DRAKE OFF THE ISLAND DEL CAÑO
ON MARCH 20, 1579¹.

In the said residence in Minas on the River of Santiago ...before the said Governor...there appeared Francisco Godinez a miner, residing in the said mines...

Deponent had gone to Panama to attend to certain business affairs towards Whitsuntide in 1579....

On leaving Panama deponent met on his way a certain de Aguirre² a mariner, and a certain Pereyra, a resident of Costa Rica, who told him how the said Corsair had seized and robbed them off the island of Caño where he was careening his ships. They told him that the Corsair was exerting great vigilance and that he had his sentinels³ and sent launches to spy outside of the harbour.

¹ Extract from the deposition of Francisco Godinez, contained in Doc. 2, Appendix to Part III.

² Martin de Aguirre, the pilot and navigator sent by Viceroy Martin Enriquez to Panama. See pp. 184, 186 and 191.

³ "atalayas," *lit.* guards in watch-towers.

It was one of the launches that the said Corsair had outside, exploring the sea in all directions, that had taken de Aguirre and Pereyra. During the days when they were held prisoners they received very good treatment¹ and were then released so that they could proceed on their voyage.

The said Corsair has, in his ship, eighty men who are very obedient to him and very well equipped with arms. He is ready to proceed on his voyage on the route to New Spain.

Later on deponent learnt through reliable information that the said Corsair had entered the ports of Guatulco and Acapulco² and after robbing what he found had proceeded on his voyage on the route to China....

15

TESTIMONY OF DON FRANCISCO DE ZARATE, TAKEN PRISONER BY DRAKE ON APRIL 4, 1579.

NOTE.

The vessel of Don Francisco de Zarate, the writer of this letter, was seized by Drake on April 4th in the vicinity of Acajutla, off the coast of Guatemala.

While all authorities emphasize the fact that Zarate was a nobleman, it is only from the Portuguese pilot's log-book that we learn that he "was a cousin of the Duke of Medina." Beside being thus connected with one of the greatest families of Spain the writer of this letter was a member of the noble order of St James, and wore its red enamelled cross, the emblem of military valour. In musical verse Lope de Vega describes how Drake, "whose rigour was always tempered with mercy," in

¹ "les habian hecho muy bien tratamiento los dias que los tuvieron presos...."

² The information about Acapulco was wrong as Drake did not enter that port.

recognition of Don Francisco de Zarate's valour, made him a "gift" of his own property, his red cross¹.

Zarate makes no mention of this "gift," nor does he tell the Viceroy that in grateful recognition of Drake's assent not to deprive him of his costly wearing apparel he bestowed upon the latter "a falcon of gold with a greate emerald in the brest thereof²."

But Zarate does relate that Drake took but little from him, was courteous in doing so, and apologised for helping himself to the Spanish gentleman's stores of linen, Chinese porcelains and silks, by explaining that he wanted them for his wife³.

What is more, Zarate relates that, in amicable, though somewhat unequal exchange, Drake gave him a falchion and what seems to have been a silver perfume-burner. In this, as in other cases, Drake's actions are seen and recorded in a pleasanter and more favourable light by his Spanish prisoners than by those of his own countrymen and companions whose written accounts have been preserved.

There are two portions of Zarate's letter to which special attention is here drawn, and which are more fully discussed in the introduction.

The first consists of that gentleman's plain statement that Drake had shown him the commission he carried from Queen Elizabeth.

The second is Zarate's report of Drake's confidential communications to him about Thomas Doughty, which indicate that

¹ "A don Francisco Zarate del orden
Militar Español de la cruz roja
Por su valor su hacienda volviste
Que siempre en el rigor piadoso fuiste."

Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, *La Dragontea*, ed. 1598.

² See *World Encompassed*, ed. Vaux, Appendix III, p. 183. Francis Fletcher's account (p. 112) conveys the wrong impression that the gold falcon, found amongst the cargo of Zarate's ship, had simply been appropriated. The English writer of the "relation" published as Appendix V, *op. cit.*, p. 242, also wrongly states that Drake took the falcon from the "Spanish gentleman."

³ This was Drake's first wife, Mary Newman, to whom he had been married on July 4th, 1569, at the church of St Budeaux, near Plymouth, Devon.

In the parish register of the same church there is the following entry: "Buried, January 25th [1583], the Lady Marie Drake, wife of Sir Francis Drake, knight."

after the arrival at Saint Julian and before entering the strait for the purpose of passing through it, Drake had "sought to make new discoveries" which had exposed him and his companions to great difficulties and perils.

In conclusion, notice is drawn to the extraordinary interest of the present letter as a human document. In a style that is as pure as it is clear and concise, the high-minded Spaniard and Christian gentleman freely writes to the recognised enemy of Drake an account of his unique and trying experience. Yet this letter contains instead of expressions of abuse, hatred or malice, which might have been pardonable under the circumstances, a generous acknowledgment of Drake's courtesy, a recognition of his refinement of manners and an unquestioning belief in the still disputed fact that Drake carried a commission from his Queen.

LETTER FROM DON FRANCISCO DE ZARATE TO DON
MARTIN ENRIQUEZ, VICEROY OF NEW SPAIN, GIVING
AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED TO HIM WITH
FRANCIS DRAKE IN THE SOUTH SEA¹.

Realejo, Nicaragua,

16th of April, 1579.

Although I am not thereby ridding myself of the obligation that I am under, owing to the mercy that Your Excellency has always shown me, and although I can never reach any port where this obligation does not exist, the occurrences that have taken place render it particularly important that I should communicate them to Your Excellency, in as few words as possible, without omitting a single detail of importance.

¹ *Archivo General de Indias*, Patronato, E. 1, C. 5, L. 2-21, No. 19.

The complete original Spanish text of the above letter is one of those published by Don Manuel M. Peralta in his *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panama en el siglo XVI*, ed. 1883, p. 569, which were first brought to the notice of English readers by Sir Clements R. Markham in his *Sea Fathers* (also Navy Records Society's vols. i, ii and xi).

I sailed out of the port of Acapulco on the twenty-third of March and navigated until Saturday, the fourth of April, on which date, half an hour before dawn, we saw, by moonlight, a ship very close to ours. Our steersman shouted that she was to get out of the way and not come alongside of us. To this they made no answer, pretending to be asleep. The steersman then shouted louder, asking them where their ship hailed from. They answered, "from Peru," and that she was "of *Miguel Angel*," which is the name of a well-known captain of that route. The spokesman on the ship was a Spaniard, whose name I will tell Your Excellency further on.

The ship of the adversary carried her bark at her prow as though she were being towed. Suddenly, in a moment, she crossed our poop, ordering us "to strike sail" and shooting seven or eight arquebuse shots at us.

We thought this as much of a joke as it afterwards turned out to be serious.

On our part there was no resistance, nor had we more than six of our men awake on the whole boat, so they entered our ship with as little risk to themselves as though they were our friends. They did no personal harm to any one, beyond seizing the swords and keys of the passengers. Having informed themselves as to who were on board ship, they ordered me to go in their boat to where their general was—a fact that I was glad of, as it appeared to me that it gave me more time in which to recommend myself to God. But in a very short time we arrived where he was, on a very good galleon, as well mounted with artillery as any I have seen in my life.

I found him promenading on deck and, on approaching him, I kissed his hands. He received me with a show of kindness, and took me to his cabin where he bade me be seated and said: "I am a friend of those who tell me the truth, but with those who do not I get out of humour.

Therefore, you must tell me (for this is the best road to my favour), how much silver and gold does your ship carry?" I said to him, "None." He repeated his question. I answered, "None, only some small plates that I use and some cups—that is all that is in her." He kept silent for a while, then renewing the conversation asked me if I knew Your Excellency. I said, "Yes¹." "Is any relative of his or thing pertaining to him on this ship?" "No, sir." "Well, it would give me a greater joy to come across him than all the gold and silver of the Indies. You would see how the words of gentlemen should be kept²." I made no reply to this. He then stood up, and bidding me go with him, led me to a cabin situated in the poop below deck, where there was a prison by them called "the ballast³." In it, at its end, was an old man. He said to me: "Sit down, for it is here that you will have to remain." I took this in good part, and was about to sit down, when he detained me and said: "I do not want you to try this just yet, but only want you to tell me who that man is in there." I answered that I did not know him. "Well," he said, "know that it is a pilot named Colchero, whom the Viceroy was sending to Panama to convey Don Gonçalo to China." He then had the pilot released from the prison and we all went up on deck. This was the man who had spoken to us from the galleon when we were taken⁴. We talked for a good while before it was

¹ In the original there is here a marginal note, not recorded by Peralta, which reads: "Ojo! a Don Martin Enriquez."

² "Viene aqui algun pariente suyo o cosa que le toque?—No, Señor.—Pues harto mas holgara de topar con él que con todo el oro y plata de las Yndias, que yo viera como se avian de cumplir las palabras de los cavalleros."

³ "una prision que entre ellos llaman vallestá" = ballast. The expression "on the ballast" is sometimes used for "in the hold," e.g. Risdon, *Surv. Devon* (1630):—"Ninety were sick on the ballast."

⁴ In Colchero's deposition, p. 93, he takes good care not to mention this compromising detail.

time to dine. He ordered me to sit next to him and began to give me food from his own plate, telling me not to grieve, that my life and property were safe. I kissed his hands for this.

He asked me if I knew where there was water to be had about here, adding that he needed nothing else, and that as soon as he found some, he would give me leave to continue my journey. I did not dare to ask aught of him at that moment. Awaiting an opportunity, I begged him not to oblige us to pass the gulf of Tehuantepec again. He answered that he would see and that he would dispatch me shortly.

On the following day, which was Sunday, in the morning, he dressed and decked himself very finely and had his galleon decorated with all its flags and banners. He also ordered that all the men on our ship be passed to another one of his, which he had taken on this same coast, and which had served for this purpose since he reached the coast of Chile, where he had on his hands a ship laden with a large quantity of gold and many others laden with silver. He had entered the port of Callao de Lima and cut the cables of all the ships that were in port. As the wind was from the land, they all went out to sea, where he had time to sack them at his will. Before he proceeded to do the same to ours he said to me: "Let one of your pages come with me to show me your apparel¹." He went from his galleon at about nine in the morning and remained until towards dusk, examining everything contained in the bales and chests. Of that which belonged to me he took but little. Indeed he was quite courteous about it. Certain

¹ "The owner of this ship having very costly apparell, earnestly entreated Drake and besought him not to take away from him his apparell, which he promised not to doo, and the gentleman gave him a falcon of gold...for his favourable dealing with him." *World Encompassed*, p. 182.

trifles of mine having taken his fancy¹, he had them brought to his ship and gave me, in exchange for them, a falchion and a small brazier of silver, and I can assure Your Excellency that he lost nothing by the bargain². On his return to his vessel he asked me to pardon him for taking the trifles, but that they were for his wife. He said that I could depart the next morning, when the breeze would rise, for which I gave him thanks.

The next morning, which was Monday, he gave back to some of the passengers who were there, their boxes, and thus occupied himself until the hour for dinner. He ordered that this be served as the wind was rising. After this had been done he said that he himself wanted to take me aboard. He ordered his sloop to be prepared and manned with two dozen archers. He had one of the artillery men called and ordered him to carry aboard half a dozen pieces of artillery. This done, he told me to embark with him, as all was in readiness. I did so, and on arriving at our vessel he boarded her first and having all our sailors called together, he gave each one a handful of reals. He also gave the same to some other men who appeared to him to be the most needy. He commanded that one of those sailors should embark with him so as to show him where water was to be obtained. All excused themselves, saying that they did not know

¹ Zarate's "ship was laden with linnen cloth and fine China silks and there were also in her divers chests full of fine erthen disshes, very finely wrought, of fine white erth, brought by the Spanyards from the countrey of Chyna which dishes the Spanyards greatly esteme. Of these dishes Drake tooke four chests full from them also about (?) packs of fine linnen cloth and good store of taffata and other fine silks." *World Encompassed*, p. 182.

² "diome por ellos un alfanje y un braserillo de plata y yo prometo a V. E^a que no perdió nada en las ferias."

In Spanish dictionaries "alfanje" is given as the Catalan name, derived from the Arabic, for a kind of short, broad and recurved sword, which answers to the description of the English falchion or hanger.

A "braserillo" signifies a small brazier and was probably, in this case, a perfume-burner.

where water was to be had, so he caused Juan Pascual to be put by force in his sloop saying that he would hang him if he replied a word¹. With this he took leave of me, and his last words were to beseech me, earnestly, to tell certain Englishmen who were in Lima that I had met him on April 6th and that he was well. From this it is to be inferred that he has spies in all this realm and in Peru. I can assure Your Excellency that two or three of those who came in his service have already navigated, where I have, on this route of New Spain².

He left Colchero with me, and after this set sail. I understand that he carries three thousand bars of silver, and twelve or fifteen chests of pieces of eight, and a great quantity of gold. He is going straight to his country, and I believe that no vessel that went after him could possibly overtake him. He has an intense desire to return to his own country.

This general of the Englishmen is a nephew of John Hawkins, and is the same who, about five years ago, took the port of Nombre de Dios. He is called Francisco Drac, and is a man about 35 years of age, low of stature, with a fair beard, and is one of the greatest mariners that sails the seas, both as a navigator and as a commander³.

¹ See Pascual's two depositions, pp. 323 and 332.

² "las postreras palabras que me dixo fue pedirme encarecidamente que yo dixese a algunos yngleses que vivian en Lima como le avia topado a seis de Abril y que yva bueno; de donde se ynfiere tener espías en todo este Reyno y el del Peru y lo que yo sé dezir a V. E^a que dos o tres de aquellos que venian en su servicio an navegado donde yo en esta carrera de Nueva España."

See note 2, p. 351.

³ "llamase Francisco Drac; será hombre de treynta y cinco años, pequeño de cuerpo, barbirubio, uno de los mayores marineros que ay en la mar, ansi de altura como de saber mandar." The idiom "de altura" particularly refers to Drake's skill in the highest branch of the art of navigation, namely the determination of a latitude ("altura") from the measurement of the altitude ("altura") of a heavenly body by means of the astrolabe, now superseded by Hadley's quadrant and sextant.

His vessel is a galleon of nearly four hundred tons, and is a perfect sailer. She is manned with a hundred men, all of service, and of an age for warfare, and all are as practised therein as old soldiers from Italy could be. Each one takes particular pains to keep his arquebuse clean. He treats them with affection, and they treat him with respect. He carries with him nine or ten cavaliers, cadets of English noblemen. These form a part of his council which he calls together for even the most trivial matter, although he takes advice from no one. But he enjoys hearing what they say and afterwards issues his orders. He has no favourite¹.

The aforesaid gentlemen sit at his table, as well as a Portuguese pilot, whom he brought from England², who spoke not a word during all the time I was on board. He is served on silver dishes with gold borders and gilded garlands, in which are his arms. He carries all possible dainties and perfumed wafers. He said that many of these had been given him by the Queen.

None of these gentlemen took a seat or covered his head before him, until he repeatedly urged him to do so. This galleon of his carries about thirty heavy pieces of artillery and a great quantity of firearms with the requisite ammunition and lead. He dines and sups to the music of viols. He carries trained carpenters and artisans, so as to be able to careen the ship at any time. Beside being new, the ship has a double lining. I understood that all the men he carries with him receive wages, because, when our ship was sacked, no man dared take anything without his orders. He shows them great favour, but punishes the least fault. He also carries painters who paint for him pictures of the coast in its exact

¹ "No tiene privado."

² This is a mistake, for Nuño da Silva was taken prisoner near Cape Verde.

colours¹. This I was most grieved to see, for each thing is so naturally depicted that no one who guides himself according to these paintings can possibly go astray. I understood from him that he had sailed from his country with five vessels, four sloops (of the long kind) and that half of the armada belonged to the Queen. I believe this to be so for the reason that I am about to relate to your Excellency.

This Corsair, like a pioneer, arrived two months before he intended to pass through [the strait] and during that time for many days there were great storms. So it was that one of the gentlemen, whom he had with him, said to him: "We have been a long while in this strait and you have placed all of us, who follow or serve you, in danger of death. It would therefore be prudent for you to give order that we return to the North Sea, where we have the certainty of capturing prizes, and that we give up seeking to make new discoveries. You see how fraught with difficulties these are²."

This gentleman must have sustained this opinion with more vigour than appeared proper to the General. His answer was that he had the gentleman carried below deck and put in irons. On another day, at the same hour, he ordered him to be taken out, and to be beheaded in the presence of all.

¹ So far as is known, the only members of Drake's company who drew maps and painted were Francis Drake himself, his cousin John Drake (see p. 303), and Francis Fletcher, of whose notes with several drawings and maps the Sloane MS. No. 61 may be a copy.

² "Este corsario como primerizo, llego dos meses antes de tiempo que avia de desembocar y estuvo en el muchos dias con grandissimos temporales, tanto que un cavallero de los que traya consigo le dixo: 'Mucho a ya que estamos en este estrecho y a todos los que lo seguimos y servimos nos aveys puesto en el de la muerte; acertarlo yades en mandar que nos volviessemos a la mar del Norte donde tenemos la presa cierta y no busquemos descubrimientos nuevos, pues veys quan dificultosos son.'..."

The term of his imprisonment was no more than was necessary to substantiate the lawsuit that was conducted against him. All this he told me, speaking much good about the dead man, but adding that he had not been able to act otherwise, because this was what the Queen's service demanded. He showed me the commissions that he had received from her and carried¹. I tried to ascertain whether any relatives of the dead man had remained on board. They told me that there was only one, who was one of those who ate at his table. During all this time that I was on board, which was fifty-five hours, this youth never left the ship, although all the others did so, in turn. It was not that he was left to guard me. I think that they guarded him.

I managed to ascertain whether the General was well liked, and all said that they adored him².

This is what I was able to find out during the time I spent with him.

I beseech your Excellency to consider what encouragement it will be to those of his country if he returns thither. If up to the present they have sent cadets, henceforth they themselves will come, after seeing how the plans which this Corsair had made in the dark, and all his promises, have come true. He will give them, as proofs of [the success of] his venture, great sums of gold and silver.

Although this has been a great loss to me, I cannot but rejoice that I did not carry out my intended voyage, since more than twenty pilots are now in the last extremity on the route to Peru.

May your Excellency pardon my lengthy account of

¹ "mostrome las provisiones que della traya." For the meaning and an example of the contemporaneous employment of the word "provisiones," see Part III, p. 95, note 1.

² "que le adoravan."

this affair. It is because it seemed to me to be important that I have been so tediously lengthy.

May Our Lord preserve your most excellent Excellency, etc. From this port of Realejo, province of Nicaragua, Holy Thursday, at night, April 16th of this year of 1579.

DON FRANCISCO DE ZARATE.



Excmo. S.D. Martin Enriquez de Almanza, Virrey, Gobernó desde
Nov.^e de 1568 hasta 1580. que pasó al Perú.

DON MARTIN ENRIQUEZ,
Viceroy of Mexico.

*Reproduction of a photograph of the original painting preserved in the
Municipal Palace, City of Mexico.*

Reproduced for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth.

Ser. II Vol. XXXIV.

V

SPANISH OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO FRANCIS DRAKE'S ENTRY
INTO THE PORT OF GUATULCO ON
APRIL 13TH, 1579¹

I

LETTER FROM GASPAR DE VARGAS, "ALCALDE MAYOR"
OR CHIEF ALCALDE OF GUATULCO, TO THE VICEROY
OF NEW SPAIN IN WHICH HE GIVES AN ACCOUNT OF
THE ENTRANCE OF AN ENGLISH CORSAIR INTO THE
PORT.

NOTE.

Gaspar de Vargas, the author of the following letter, as well as of reports Nos. v and viii and of Deposition 4, No. xviii, was the Alcalde Mayor, or Chief Alcalde of Guatulco, the small port whose name is erroneously given as Aguatulco or Agwatulco by some of the oldest English writers. At the period of Drake's visit, Guatulco was the port from which all the Spanish merchants embarked their goods for Peru and Honduras². Situated in the State of Oaxaca, on the Pacific Coast, between Tehuantepec and its rival Acapulco, it lay separated from the old Indian town of Guatulco by a distance of three leagues. In 1587 Thomas Cavendish made a second raid upon Guatulco and burned the church to the ground; the large crucifix, which escaped destruction, becoming famous as the "Cross of Guatulco" and its

¹ This, and the majority of the documents relating to Drake preserved at the *Archivo General de Indias*, in Seville, are contained in a bundle, carefully labelled "Papers pertaining to the invasions and robberies committed by the Corsair Drake in the South Sea, years 1575-1587. Patronato, E. 2, C. 5, 2-21."

² See John Chilton's statement, note 1, p. 353.

fragments being to this day venerated as miraculous. The port and town of Guatulco never fully recovered its former importance and the port of Acapulco, protected by a fort and enjoying greater natural advantages, became the flourishing trading centre of New Spain's Pacific Coast.

It is also to Gaspar de Vargas who, at the time of Drake's entry was aged 56 and had long filled his post, that we owe valuable details about the history of Guatulco. These are contained in his official report written before 1579, entitled:

"A Description of the Town of Guatulco, which is under the governorship of Bernardino Lopez and belongs to the jurisdiction of the Port of Guatulco¹," of which the following is a literal translation.

"The Governor and Alcalde, as well as the principal and oldest Indian residents of this town of Guatulco state that the first Spanish Conqueror that came to this province, sent by the Marquis [Hernan Cortes] was Pedro de Alvarado, whom the Indians named 'Tonatiuh' i.e. the Sun. Amongst other soldiers whose names are not remembered by informants, Alvarado brought with him Antonio Gutierrez de Ahumada, to whom he gave the governorship of the said town of Guatulco and its dependencies, which at the time constituted a great province. This said town of Guatulco is on the coast of the South Sea and is at present under the governorship of Bernardino Lopez², who married the granddaughter of Antonio Gutierrez de Ahumada and thus inherited the post. The town is under the jurisdiction of the Chief Alcalde of the port of Guatulco and is situated at a distance of three leagues to the east of said port. It is the residence of the Vicar of this Parish..... The town of Xochitepec, at a distance of seven leagues has a separate 'corregidor.' The [old Indian] name 'Coatolco' signifies 'Place of the serpent.' The Indians say that they descend from the Chichimecs. The language they speak is a corrupt and disguised form of the Mexican tongue."

¹ This document is published by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, in *Papeles de Nueva España, publicadas por orden y con fondos del Gobierno Mexicano*, tomo lv, *Relacion geografica de la diocesis de Oaxaca*, Madrid, 1907, p. 247.

² The testimony of Governor Bernardino Lopez about Drake's entry into Guatulco is given on p. 342.

LETTER WRITTEN BY GASPAR DE VARGAS, CHIEF ALCALDE OF THE PORT OF GUATULCO, IN WHICH HE GIVES INFORMATION THAT AN ENGLISH CORSAIR, WITH ONE VESSEL AND A LAUNCH, HAD ENTERED THE SAID PORT. GUATULCO, MONDAY APRIL 13TH, 1579, 10 P.M.

• This morning of Holy Monday at eight o'clock, being in the port of Guatulco, I was informed by some sailors of a ship belonging to Juan Madrid, which was in the said port, laden with stuffs for Zonzonate and was to sail on Wednesday next, that they had just seen two sails very near to the entrance of port. One was large, the other small, and they inferred that the first was the vessel from Peru that they were expecting and that the smaller must be a bark used for pearl-fishing along this coast. Two hours later, at about ten o'clock, both ships began to enter the port abreast, and it became apparent that the larger one was, as everyone says, of more than three hundred tons. The other one also appeared to be larger than had first been said. They entered the port with great determination and the larger ship cast anchor. The bark, which turned out to be a launch, and the ship's boat, filled with men, began to come very suddenly, in a resolute manner, towards the shore. Then only was it understood that it was the English Corsair that he turned out to be.

I went to meet them on the shore with the few Spaniards and some Indians who were decorating the Church for Holy Thursday and Easter. With the weapons that we found, we prepared to oppose their landing and succeeded in so far that the boat which carried more than forty archers and gunners was delayed until the launch began to discharge its artillery, which was supported by the arquebuses in the boat. It then became necessary for us to abandon the town and retire up the [wooded] hill, from the heights of which we discharged our arquebuses. We

saw them land, and with their captain, begin to plunder the property of the merchants and of those of us who live there. What is most and above all else to be deplored is the shamelessness with which they, with their knives, hacked into pieces the sacred images and crucifixes, after which, laden with plunder, they returned to their ship. They then began to overhaul the said ship which lay at anchor, laden with merchandise and carried the latter to their vessel.

As far as we could see they carried off three persons, who were the curate ; his relative the mayor of Suchitepec, named Miranda, who had come to spend Holy Week in the port ; and a certain Francisco Gomez, factor¹.

At that time I went down and mustered a few Spaniards. When those of the ship saw this they returned to the shore in two boats so as to seize some of them. Not succeeding in doing this they returned to their ship. At dusk I returned to the town for the third time to ascertain whether I could obtain some information as to who the men are. All that I have been able to find out is that the men on the ship belonging to Juan de Madrid think that the name of the pilot of the ship is Morera. An Indian who is ill and remained in the port recognised, at first sight, one or two men who used to frequent this port as sailors. I then came to this town of Guatulco and have just arrived here at ten o'clock at night, so as to send Your Excellency this dispatch by a suitable person who can reach Oaxaca in two and a half or three days and thence send another on, so that Your Excellency may provide such remedy as is possible.

From this same place I sent another Spaniard to San Juan Acapulco, a hundred leagues from here, so that

¹ The Spanish word "encomendero" is here rendered by the word "factor" employed by John Chilton, who knew Francis Gomez Rengifo personally. See his narrative, p. 353, note 1.

even if he has to kill horses in doing so, he should reach that port before the ship, so that the necessary precautions can be taken.

Your Excellency might be served and an important expedition could be made there if, in all haste, four hundred men could be shipped in the large vessel belonging to Juan Diaz and in His Majesty's ship. They could await this Corsair or go out to meet and grapple with him. Doubtless they would obtain a certain victory over him, even if they were no more than two hundred men with good arquebuses, swords and shields, and some artillery if such were to be had. According to what these sailors say, the Corsair's ship carries eight or nine pieces of artillery.

After finishing this dispatch, I will return to the port to see what can be undertaken. I think that, beyond a doubt, he will take the route of Acapulco, because it seems that he had come from Zonzonate where he must have done no small damage on his way and in the ports whither two vessels laden with cargo [recently] went from this port [of Guatulco]. One of these belonged to Sebastian Ruiz, the other to Don Francisco de Zarate. It is suspected that he met these, because, according to these sailors, the [Corsair's] ship is so low in the water that she appears as though she must be laden with gold, silver and merchandise. They therefore say and suspect that he must have done harm to those ships of Peru. All this is conjecture, but it may be true and I will write about whatever may occur.

May Our Lord preserve the very Excellent person of Your Honour with a very great increase of state, as we, your servants, desire.

From this town of Guatulco, Holy Monday, 13th of April, 1579. Your most Excellent Lordship's servant,

GASPAR DE VARGAS.

2

LETTER FROM THE VICEROY OF NEW SPAIN, MARTIN ENRIQUEZ, TO KING PHILIP II, ENCLOSING THE PRECEDING LETTER.

NOTE.

The writer of the following dispatches to King Philip II is the Viceroy Martin Enriquez, whose memory will ever be associated with the San Juan de Ulua episode, which, as Fernandez Duro, the eminent Spanish historian admits, "was an affair of foxes and not of lions" on the part of his countrymen.

Don Martin Enriquez was a brother of the Marquis de Alcañices, and the fourth Viceroy of New Spain, whither he came in 1568, and where he governed for 12 years. During that time he pacified the Chichimecs and founded the town of Celaya, in 1570, to serve as a place of defence against them. He also founded other "presidios" or fortified outposts, and the village of San Felipe, near the mines of San Luis Potosi. It is recorded that he was provident and merciful during the epidemic of pest that raged in 1576 and wrote a set of "Ordenanzas" for New Spain in 1574. In 1580 he was promoted to the Viceregal chair of Peru and was succeeded in Mexico by the Count de Coruña.

Viceroy Martin Enriquez earned the enmity of Moya de Contreras, the first Inquisitor-General, by his open opposition to the establishment of the Holy Office in Mexico. The latter complained to King Philip that, when he went to make his first official visit to the Viceroy he was left waiting for a long time, and when received, was not requested to be seated or to cover his head. In a letter¹ to the President of the Royal Council of the Indies, Moya de Contreras reiterates that the Viceroy always took "general and particular pains to aggravate me in every manner that was possible, endeavouring thus to diminish the authority and respect that is due to the dignity I hold." The Inquisitor goes on to state that the Viceroy's character is "one of the strange ones produced by nature," that "he continually

¹ This letter is dated Jan. 24th, 1575 and is published in the *Cartas de Indias, Ministerio de Fomento*, Madrid, 1877, p. 188.

wears a mask...that his penury and exaggerated self-esteem cause general scandal and dissatisfaction and comment...,” all of which the dignitary of the Church “deplores as a man and as a Christian.” He reports: “It is a current saying here that all the government and care of the Viceroy consists in hoarding his money, in exacting adoration, and in keeping himself enclosed between two walls as though he were under an enchantment¹, thus condemning people to perpetual sadness, trampling under foot the spiritual and temporal, and causing displeasure, disgust and despondency to all.”

In a letter to the King of Spain, dated Sept. 23rd, 1575, the hated Viceroy expresses his belief that, in all New Spain, there was not a sign of a Lutheran to be seen, and ends with the exclamation “Thank God! this country is well in this respect.”

On Oct. 9th in the following year, the Viceroy wrote to Philip II, asking under the plea of ill-health to be relieved of his post so as to be able “to go into retirement and spend his few last days in contentment”; but his proffered resignation was not accepted and he remained at his post until 1580 when he was transferred to Peru. He died there a couple of years later.

It will not be possible to form a true estimate of the Viceroy's conduct at San Juan de Ulua, whereby he earned the undying hatred of the English, until the Spanish side of the affair is brought to light, as is intended, in my forthcoming publication of the Spanish official documents.

Your Catholic Royal Majesty,

To-day, Thursday, the twenty-third of April, after one o'clock of the afternoon, I received the enclosed letter² which Your Majesty will order to be looked into. It is from the Chief Alcalde of the port of Guatulco, and will inform Your Majesty of what is happening. I cannot understand how they came into this South Sea, if it is not by the same way that they came the last time, when they went to Panama. Now Your Majesty will see how

¹ “...toda la governacion y cuidado del virrey a sido y es guardar su dinero y hazerse adorar y estarse entre dos paredes encantado....”

² The preceding letter.

important it is that this Sea should have security and will give orders to safeguard that Strait which affords a troublesome entrance to this country, Peru and China¹.

Up to the present hour, I have no further light than that contained in the enclosed letter. I am now dispatching couriers to the inhabitants of the coasts so that they should be warned, although they can do nothing more than take refuge in the woods. For on those coasts there is no mode of defence. In many places there are not more than four Spaniards, excepting in the port of Acapulco, and even there there are very few Spaniards and not many Indians.

About the ship that was in Guatulco, and of which the Chief Alcalde makes much account, as being fit to serve against the Englishmen: if the latter are not more dull and senseless than animals, they will have burned her after robbing her. I am afraid that, on arriving at Acapulco, they will have done the same with another vessel of Your Majesty that is there, and on which I have had my eye in order to send her back to China. I do not know what they will do with her.

I am also writing to the General Don Cristobal de Eraso², giving him an account of what is happening, so that, if possible, precautions can be taken against the time when the Englishmen return to the place whence they came, provided he has the men and is able to punish them or provide for what is necessary. I do not know when my dispatch will reach Your Majesty. It is to be conveyed by the fleet³.

It has seemed to me well that the General should

¹ By "China" the Philippines are meant.

² Cristobal de Eraso was the General of the Armada of the Indies, supposed to be stationed, at that time, somewhere in the West Indies.

³ The fleet that sailed from Vera Cruz to Spain, via Cuba, about twice a year, was about to depart for Havana when this letter was written.

know about this and notify those of Panama not to be careless. I believe that, in this country, they will not remain longer than to commit robberies and then depart on their return voyage. According to what is learnt of their movements, steps will be taken in conformity with the requirements of Your Majesty's service. In future all will be done to provide the ports with means of defence, for they are all without artillery and it will be most difficult to convey such thither. Artillery could more easily be brought via Panama, for, after all, it could be taken thither from Spain, and just as, at present, it is conveyed from there to Peru, so it could be sent here. Your Majesty will issue orders according to Your Majesty's wishes about this matter.

May Our Lord guard the Catholic Royal Person of Your Majesty and give Your Majesty the increase of kingdoms and domains that we, Your Majesty's servants, desire. From Mexico, April 23rd, 1579.

From Your Majesty's loyal servant, who kisses Your Majesty's royal hands.

DON MARTIN ENRIQUEZ.

Endorsed by the King's secretary: Seen; to be joined to what relates to Francis Drake.

3

LETTER FROM VICEROY MARTIN ENRIQUEZ TO KING PHILIP II.

Your Catholic Royal Majesty,

Yesterday, as soon as the news arrived that an English Corsair, with a vessel and a launch, had arrived at the port of Guatulco, on the coast of the South Sea, and immediately after reading the letter apprising me of this

news, I dispatched it to Your Majesty so that the fleet should not depart without carrying information of what is happening. Now that I know that the fleet has not yet sailed, I write these further lines, so that Your Majesty should know what is being done. Persons from my household as well as from this city are to leave here between to-day and to-morrow, so as to go with the greatest possible haste to the port of Acapulco, to defend that port and the vessels in it. I surely believe that if the Corsair does not arrive there first, they will repel him¹. My principal aim is to protect the ships, for if he should burn these we would remain crippled and he, the Corsair, become the lord of the sea. If all goes well and they arrive in time and the ships remain free, I shall manage to place in them as many arquebusiers as can go, so that they can keep following him to prevent his going about with such liberty. If precautions are taken at the places where he disembarked, he cannot but lose himself, for it is impossible for one vessel and a launch to hold out in this Sea. Our greatest deficiency is marine and land artillery, as I have already written to Your Majesty, whose Catholic Royal Person may Our Lord protect, granting you an increase of kingdoms and domains such as we, your Majesty's servants, desire. From Mexico, April 24th, 1579.

Your Majesty's loyal servant who kisses Your Majesty's royal hands.

DON MARTIN ENRIQUEZ.

Endorsed on the back: Seen; it need not be answered, put it with what concerns Drake.

¹ The futility of the Viceroy's dilatory measures is exposed by Don Luis de Velasco in his letter to Philip II, see p. 230, and also by Miles Philips, see note, p. 225.

4

LETTER FROM THE VICEROY MARTIN ENRIQUEZ TO
KING PHILIP II.

Your Catholic Royal Majesty,

Less than an hour ago I received a letter from the Chief Alcalde of Guatulco containing the report that he likewise sent¹.

I cannot persuade myself to believe its contents, and think that this Corsair must have entered this Sea the same way as the last time². All that he says are fanfaronades, as can clearly be seen, for he says that he entered with six galleons and that during a storm he encountered on the coast of Peru, five galleons parted company and that he has since received news from them. Such news can only be a report, because I do not know by what other means news could be given him³. It probably appears to him that by saying this he inspires great terror. I believe that his vessel must be one of those that come and go to Peru and that he seized her and the launch. If this happened in Panama it will be better known, and the authorities there will have notified Your Majesty.

As soon as I received the first news, which reached me last Thursday afternoon, I dispatched a courier to the President of Guatemala giving him the account I had of this Corsair and of what he did at Guatulco. I wrote the same to the President of Panama so that he should be notified and expect the Englishman on his return; I also wrote to the President of Guatemala, directing him to forward the letter to Panama immediately. I have my fears about the ships in Acapulco, because, if the warning

¹ See Part III, 1, p. 238. ² i.e. crossed the Isthmus of Panama.

³ The astute Viceroy's suspicion was proven to be correct, but he soon ascertained, through Nuño da Silva, that he was wrong in surmising that Drake had crossed the Isthmus and was sailing in a ship he had seized.

sent by the Chief Alcalde of Guatulco did not reach there in time, Don Juan de Guzman will unsuspectingly go out to receive the Corsair's ship, as soon as sighted, imagining it to be a vessel from Peru; for Corsair vessels have been hitherto absolutely unheard of. Or he may be so heedless that the Corsair will be able to enter into the port, as at Guatulco. It is best that Your Majesty should receive a report of all this and I therefore give it.

In case this Corsair should have really passed through the Strait, it will be necessary for Your Majesty to give orders to have that passage safeguarded. I am told that, in this Strait, there is a place where a fortification could be built without great difficulty. This was told me by an Augustine friar who had much intercourse with Urdaneta, a friar of his order, who was a mariner and passed through that Strait¹.

Those whom I have sent to Acapulco cannot reach there in time if the Corsair is as quick as the Chief Alcalde of Guatulco's letter. But he may have been delayed by very contrary weather. The voyage from Guatulco to Acapulco does not take six or seven days and the Corsair may well have reached the latter port at the very time when I received the first account from Guatulco. May Our Lord protect, etc.

From Mexico, April 26th, 1579.

(Signed) DON MARTIN ENRIQUEZ.

Endorsed by the King's secretary: To be put with what concerns Drake.

¹ Andres de Urdaneta, who earned a reputation for great learning in philosophy, mathematics, astrology and nautical matters, first served in the army of the Emperor Charles V, attaining the rank of Captain, and then accompanied the Commander Loaysa on his expedition to the Straits of Magellan in 1525. He distinguished himself in the Moluccas, and had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the Portuguese who robbed him of all his notes and charts. Later, he came to the city of Mexico where he took the habit of the order of St Augustine in 1553, but continued to pursue his studies. Duro, *Armada Española*, tomo ii, pp. 232 et aliunde.

5

LETTER FROM VICEROY MARTIN ENRIQUEZ TO
KING PHILIP II.

Your Catholic Royal Majesty,

Some persons here are expressing their belief that if the Corsair does not find another outlet he must perforce go by the Portuguese route and pass by regions where, if warning is given, he might be awaited¹. This will be better understood over there than here. It also appears to these persons that Molucca should be notified so that the Portuguese there, who are the Corsair's enemies, should know of his coming, particularly as he will be passing through the regions where they have their trade. This may be, but I do not see that there is so much intercourse between those who are in China and the Portuguese who are in Molucca. I would gladly notify the Governor of China, if this were possible, but on all this coast, for more than two hundred leagues, there are not more than three vessels: Your Majesty's, which is in the port of Acapulco; another small vessel which is laden with stuffs for Zonzonate, and the vessel that was in Guatulco and the Corsair had in his power. This is also laden with stuffs for Zonzonate. And these two vessels, and others, if they were forthcoming, are more necessary for what I propose doing, which is to send them to look for the Corsair, than to send them to China, even if the weather permitted this. Moreover, I do not believe that the Corsair will go there, nor is it a region where any damage could be done on land; for, after having left his country with two hundred and sixty men, his galleon now

¹ The Viceroy omits to mention here that it was Don Luis de Velasco who warmly advocated that a ship be sent to the Moluccas. See the latter's letter, p. 41

only carries eighty. God knows how many will arrive over there. May Our Lord, etc.

From Mexico, May 4th, 1579.

DON MARTIN ENRIQUEZ.

Endorsed: To be put with what relates to Drake.

6

LETTER FROM THE AUDIENCIA (SUPREME COURT) OF MEXICO TO HIS MAJESTY INFORMING HIM OF THE ENTRANCE OF DRAKE'S ARMADA INTO GUATULCO AND OF THE DISPOSITIONS ORDERED BY THE VICEROY.

Your Catholic Royal Majesty,

On Thursday, the twenty-third day of April of this year, the Viceroy of this New Spain received information that, on the thirteenth of the same month, a Corsair had arrived at the port of Guatulco, on the South Sea, in the jurisdiction of this Supreme Court, in a vessel and a launch fitted out with artillery. It was understood that he was English and that he had committed many robberies and assaults in the ports where he had been. After receiving this news, on the same day, the Viceroy communicated it to this Royal Audiencia. It has since become known that another ship has appeared on the coast of Guatemala and it is believed that she also belongs to this Corsair¹.

The Viceroy has taken, and is taking, all the steps that seem to be proper in order to repair and prevent further damages. He is giving Your Majesty, at greater length, an account of this in the private letter he is writing. We shall be careful to give our support to what may present

¹ This was another false report.

itself in this matter, and will give it with the diligence proper to Your Majesty's loyal servants. We shall continue to give Your Majesty an account of occurrences when occasion offers.

May Our Lord keep the Catholic Royal Person of Your Majesty for many years with an increase of more kingdoms and domains such as we, Your Majesty's servants, desire.

From Mexico, May 5th, 1579.

From Your Majesty's loyal servants who kiss your Royal hands.

DON MARTIN ENRIQUEZ.

DOCTOR PEDRO FARFAN.

DOCTOR LOPES DE MIRANDA.

DOCTOR CARCANELO.

DIEGO AREVALO Y BEDEÑO.

7

LETTER FROM DOCTOR FERNANDO ROBLES, JUDGE OF THE COURT OF MEXICO, TO KING PHILIP II.

NOTE.

A particular interest attaches itself to the personality of the writer of the following letter, Doctor Robles, because he took with him on the expedition he commanded (and reports upon to the King) the young Englishman, Miles Philips, one of the company of men who had been set ashore at their own request by John Hawkins eleven years previously, in 1568.

Miles Philips wrote so interesting a description of his experiences before and during the time when he was with those concerned in the wild-goose chase of Drake, that it deserves repetition here¹.

"...there came news to Mexico, that there were certain Englishmen landed, with a great power, at the port of Acapulco upon the South Sea; and that they were coming to Mexico, to take the spoil thereof:

¹ Hakluyt, vol. ix, p. 433: also reprinted in *An English Garner: Voyages and Travels*, with an introduction by C. Raymond Beazley, vol. i, pp. 206-208.

which wrought a marvellous great fear amongst them ; and many of those that were rich began to shift for themselves, their wives and children.

"...Then were Paul Horsewell and I, Miles Philips, sent for before the Viceroy ; and were examined if we did know an Englishman named Francis Drake, who was brother to Captain Hawkins ? To which we answered that Captain Hawkins had not any brother but one ; who was a man of the age of threescore years or thereabouts, and was now Governor of Plymouth in England. And then he demanded of us, if we knew one Francis Drake, and we answered, No¹.

"While these things were in doing, there came news that all the Englishmen were gone. Yet were there 800 men made out, under the leading of several Captains, whereof 200 were sent to the port of San Juan de Ulua upon the North Sea, under the conduct of Don Luis Suarez ; 200 were sent to Guatemala in the South Sea, who had for their Captain, Juan Cortes ; 200 more were sent to Guatulco, a port of the South Sea, over whom went for Captain, Don Pedro de Robles ; and 200 more were sent to Acapulco, the port where it was said Captain Drake had been, and they had for Captain, Doctor Robles, Alcalde de Corte ; with whom I, Miles Philips, went as Interpreter, having licence given by the Inquisitors.

"When we were come to Acapulco [in May, 1579] we found that Captain Drake was departed from thence, more than a month before we came thither [i.e. in March, 1579]. But yet our Captain Alcalde de Corte there presently embarked himself, in a small ship of 60 tons or thereabouts, having also in company with him, two other small barks ; and not past 200 men in all. With whom I went as Interpreter in his own ship ; which, God knoweth, was but weak and ill appointed ; so that, for certain, if we had met with Captain Drake, he might easily have taken us all.

"We being embarked, kept our course, and ran southward towards Panama, keeping still as nigh the shore as we could, and having the land upon our left hand. Having coasted thus, for the space of eighteen or twenty days ; and having reached more to the south than Guatemala ; we met, at last, with other ships which came from Panama. Of whom we were certainly informed that Captain Drake was clean gone off the coast, more than a month before ; and so we returned back to Acapulco again, and there landed ; our Captain being forced thereunto because his men were very sore sea-sick.

"All the while that I was at sea with them, I was a glad man. For I hoped that if we met with Master Drake, we should all be taken : so that then I should have been freed out of that danger and misery wherein I lived, and should return to my own country of England again. But missing thereof, when I saw there was no remedy, but that we must needs come on land again, little doth any man know

¹ This was, of course, a denial made from prudential motives.

the sorrow and grief that inwardly I felt ; although outwardly I was constrained to make fair weather of it.

"...Our Captain made report to the Viceroy what he had done and how far he had travelled ; and that he was informed for certain that Captain Drake was not to be heard of. To which the Viceroy replied and said, Surely we shall have him shortly come into our hands, driven aland through necessity, in some one place or other. For he, being now in these Seas of Sur, it is not possible for him to get out of them again. So that if he perish not at sea, yet hunger will force him to land.

"And then again I was commanded by the Viceroy that I should not depart the City of Mexico."

Your Catholic Royal Majesty,

The audacity of Francis Drake, the English Corsair who went about committing robberies in the South Sea and entered into the port of Guatulco, as Your Majesty has been informed, made it imperative that the Viceroy of New Spain, in accord with the Royal Court, should do what was possible in the way of sending an expedition in pursuit of him and of another ship that serves as his [rear-]guard. News has been received that the latter remained behind the five ships that entered the South Sea through the Strait. The Viceroy gave order to raise a body of soldiers in this city in great haste and all other necessary preparations were made for the purpose of pursuing and punishing him.

At the beginning of last May he elected me to be his lieutenant and the captain-general of the expedition. Within three days I had raised and enlisted three hundred very splendid men, the majority of them experienced in warfare in Your Majesty's service. These were organised into a body of somewhat less than two hundred picked and chosen soldiers, whom I dispatched within eight days from the City, all paid and very well armed. My son, Don Felix de Robles, by appointment of the Viceroy, went as their captain-general and I followed them within three

days with instructions as to what I had to do and the order to embark, with a company of more than thirty gentlemen, men of position and experts, many of them well-known cavaliers. Without losing a point or having been the cause...on so long a journey...¹ of the slightest discomfort or complaint of a single Indian, which is a great deal, considering how things usually are in this country, I arrived at the port within fifteen days with all my company but one soldier who had fallen ill. There I found a very fine ship of Your Majesty's and another belonging to a private individual who navigates along that coast, which, through the foresight of the Viceroy, had been prepared, armed and victualled with utmost and incredible activity.

As it appeared that it would be advisable to build a launch that could act as a guard to the two vessels, by reason of the inlets and shallows on that coast, I had one made in a very short time. Just as I was on the point of embarking I received an order from the Viceroy not to do so, because of the lack of Judges that were needed in the Court. Although I much regretted doing so I could not but obey, and substituted in my post, by order of the Viceroy, Don Juan de Guzman, who was the Chief Justice and purveyor of that port. I sent my son as Your Majesty's standard bearer to fill the office to which he had been appointed. After I had given them public and secret instructions about the route they were to take, according to the information that the Viceroy had received, they set sail with a very favourable wind; greatly regretting that I had been forced to leave them. This accomplished I returned here, according to orders received, having spent two months, with great anxiety, labour, and much expenditure of my means. Up to the present we

¹ Original torn.

have no news of their return, or of what has happened to them.

I consider that I have been very well employed, because what I have done and borne has been in Your Majesty's service. Therefore I will but repeat my offer to do all in my power, without any regard or consideration of aught else. I beg Your Majesty to be pleased to receive this wish to do Your Majesty service which I have demonstrated on many occasions, when service has been entrusted to me, since I came to New Spain to serve Your Majesty nearly six years ago.

The acceptance of my service alone will be considered by me as a great mercy and recompense from Your Majesty, whose very Catholic person may Our Lord preserve for many happy years with an increase of greater kingdoms and realms, such as Christianity needs and the servants of Your Majesty desire.

From Mexico, Sept. 4th, 1579.

Your Catholic Royal Majesty, Your Majesty's humble and loyal servant who kisses the royal and very Catholic hands of Your Majesty,

DOCTOR ROBLES¹.

¹ One can readily understand, after reading the above adulatory epistle, why Philip II issued a Royal Edict in 1586, regulating the "abuse of words," condemning "the vanities of titles employed in writing and in speech" and giving strict rules for the different forms of address to be henceforth used in addressing him, members of the royal family, the aristocracy and the hierarchy according to rank. It is astonishing, but truly characteristic, that the Royal Edict actually prescribes the form in which vassals are to write to their lords; servants to their masters; fathers to sons; husbands to wives; brothers to sisters and vice versa; married women to each other and monks and nuns to members of their orders and superiors.

8

LETTER FROM DON LUIS DE VELASCO TO HIS MAJESTY
CONCERNING THE ENTRANCE OF THE CORSAIR INTO
THE SOUTH SEA AND OF THE ROBBERIES AND
INIQUITIES HE COMMITTED.

NOTE.

The writer of the following spirited letter, Don Luis de Velasco, was the son and namesake of his father, the second Viceroy of New Spain, and a member of the noble family of the Constables of Castile. He came to Mexico as an infant, when his father assumed the Viceregal government in 1550, and spent his youth in Mexico. As a young man he filled the official post of "Corregidor" (Magistrate) at Cempoala, and was later a "Regidor" (Prefect) in the City of Mexico, which post he was probably holding at the date of this letter. The differences of opinion which led to a rupture between him and the Viceroy Martin Enriquez are discernible in the following letter, which also reveals the qualities and attainments which earned him his later distinctions. It will be seen that, with more discernment than the Viceroy, he foresaw what route Drake would take, and that, if his suggestion to send a vessel to give warning in the Moluccas had been carried out, the measure might possibly have been successful.

Obliged to leave Mexico on account of growing unpleasantnesses with the Viceroy, Don Luis went to Spain, and soon stood so high in the favour of King Philip II that the latter entrusted him, in June, 1588, with an honourable and extremely delicate mission to the Court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, at Florence. As Spanish Envoy Extraordinary he was instructed to convey King Philip's condolence upon the death of the Grand Duke Francesco de Medici, to Ferdinand, his brother and successor. At the same time, he was to congratulate Ferdinand on his succession to the Grand-ducal throne and invest him with the order of the Golden Fleece and certain privileges which had been bestowed upon his father, the Grand Duke Cosimo, by the Spanish Crown, to which he was related by marriage.



DON LUIS DE VELASCO II.
Viceroy of Mexico.

*Reproduction of a drawing from the original painting preserved in the
Municipal Palace, City of Mexico.*

Reproduced for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth.

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Don Luis de Velasco carried, moreover, secret instructions¹ to negotiate a series of delicate official matters which required adjustment, and, above all, to "arrange" the marriage of the Cardinal Grand Duke Ferdinand to the fifteen-year-old daughter of Archduke Carlos, a nephew and, subsequently, also the brother-in-law, of Philip II. But the Cardinal Grand Duke had already resolved to wed Christine de Lorraine and could not be induced to consider his marriage with a Princess of so tender an age.

Philip II evidently appreciated Don Luis de Velasco's zeal and diplomatic services, even though the latter were not entirely successful, for two years afterwards, in 1590, he appointed him Viceroy of Mexico, after the retirement of Don Alvarado de Zuñiga, Marquis of Villa Manrique, who had not only rendered himself unpopular in New Spain, but had also forfeited the favour of the King.

Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco II, as he is named, to differentiate him from his father, is one of the most notable figures in the history of New Spain, where he left a glorious name. A worthy successor of his father, he distinguished himself by his executive ability, his enlightened and progressive policy, and, above all, his sincere affection for the Indians, in whose welfare he took a truly paternal interest. He was particularly energetic in furthering reforms of the Colonial administration, which oppressed the Indians. He encouraged home industries in the colonies and gave the death-blow to the monopolies of Spanish *versus* native merchants. He beautified the City of Mexico, founded towns and built a drainage canal to save the capital from recurring inundations.

In 1595 he was transferred to Peru, where he governed as Viceroy for seven years. In 1602 he retired from public affairs and returned to his beloved Mexico, taking up his residence on his estate at Atzacapotzalco. In 1607 Philip III re-appointed him Viceroy and bestowed upon him the title of Marquis de Salinas. He exerted his power to lighten the burden of the Indians, abolished the severe punishments usually imposed upon them, and ruled Mexico with justice, equity and clemency until June, 1611, when he left the country to assume the exalted post of

¹ Copies of which I have made and hope to publish later.

President of the Council of the Indies in Spain, where he died shortly afterwards.

Your Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty¹,

Your Majesty will have received accounts of the entrance of Francis Drake, the English Corsair, into the South Sea, through the Strait of Magellan, from the kingdoms of Peru, Panama and Guatemala, and from this New Spain, it being the duty of the persons who have charge of the government and defence of these parts to furnish such accounts and to relate what has been done with a view to pursuing and punishing the Corsair. On this subject I propose to write at length what ought to be done and what may be anticipated in the future, although the others will have considerably informed Your Majesty of what has been done up to the present.

As soon as the news arrived of the entry of this Corsair into the port of Guatulco, on the coast of New Spain, I begged the Viceroy to give me permission to go to the port of Acapulco where, it was understood, the Corsair might go and where, at least, there were two vessels to protect and also some arms, ammunition and provisions belonging to Your Majesty, and destined for the expedition to the Islands of the West. The Viceroy denied me this permission and sent other persons for the purpose, although I made no claim for a better position than that of a private soldier.

Afterwards he agreed to send more men and a person, who was to go with them as captain, to embark and set out in pursuit of the Corsair. Personally, and through proxies, I made demonstrations of my good-will to go.

It seemed to several persons that haste was all-important, and the mustering of able men which would

¹ Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Patronato, E. 2, C. 5, L. 2-21 No. 7.

be advantageous and much less costly for Your Majesty. But the Viceroy thought better; he would not have me do aught, nor would he receive me. Although (according to what one might surmise from so expert and astute a Corsair) the expedition appeared to be already futile on account of its delay, I was more grieved than I can express. For, on such an occasion as this, when I was prepared with all that was necessary for the expedition, I could have left this city more quickly than anyone else. Besides, many citizens had expressed the wish to join me, and serve Your Majesty, as is their duty, without any other reward than that of having served Your Majesty like faithful vassals. I was not given permission to employ myself in Your Majesty's service, not even as a soldier, although in order to be able to live in this exile naught sustains me but the hope for occasions to serve Your Majesty. It is certain that neither on this, nor on other important occasions that might arise, would I wait for permission to act, did I not realise how much better Your Majesty is served when your Ministers are obeyed and respected than when those who are as worthless as I am risk their properties and lives in your royal service. I respect this as an inviolable law, although, in order to maintain it, I am obliged to give up following what is so much to my liking.

The expedition started with Hernando de Robles, the judge of the court who took the men from this place and delivered them at the port of Acapulco to Don Juan de Guzman, purveyor and chief alcalde, who was considered by him a trustworthy person and of whom it was expected that he would do his duty. When they set sail to pursue the Corsair, two months had passed since he had departed from the vicinity of the port of Guatulco on his voyage, without their having had news of him from any part of this entire coast. During all this time, unless he

were forced to careen his vessel, he could have accomplished the dangerous part of his navigation, for he was provided with everything and must have had more desire to safeguard his rich prize than to seek ports in this New Spain and await vessels to fight with.

From the beginning, when the men were mustered, it was understood for certain that it would be useless to start so late, as the Corsair had the advantage of two months' time which could not be regained, unless he had entered some port to repair his ship. It must be believed that he would not do this on the coast by which he had come, doing damage, and where the people are irritated and in revolt against him. He knew, moreover, that in every place where he had been, the people were arming themselves against him. He had also seen and recognised the ships which left Callao de Lima and pursued him, and he had been in great fear of these, as is known through certain persons who were then in his company¹. The sending of the ships with orders to sail along the coast of New Spain from Acapulco to the Realejo (which are three hundred leagues) was also purposeless, for even if the Corsair had gone and taken some port there, he would already have been sought out and chased by the ships from Guatemala and Lima, when these arrived.

It has seemed that what they could do to some purpose would be to follow, without delay, the opposite direction, and go towards the ports of Navidad, Colima, Costa de Chiametla, Culiacan and California. For it is known that the ships from Peru and Guatemala would chase them afar and in places where it cannot be assumed that the Corsair would go. But the above would be the route he would have to follow on his search for the new strait of which they say that he spoke so much. Even if he did not find

¹ This and the following references are obviously based on Nuño da Silva's depositions.

this strait, he would come across ports where he could stay and take shelter with great advantages of weather, as the country is very far north. And he would be under no necessity of starting on the route to the Moluccas and other neighbouring islands in the summer¹ and of undertaking, from thence, his voyage by the Portuguese route which some say that he could do if he missed the strait for which he is in search. It would certainly be rash for him to endeavour to go by the Strait of Magellan (even if he encountered favourable weather for doing so) on account of the small number of men he carries. For it can be safely counted upon that the coasts, along which he would have to sail, are now prepared against him.

Realising all this, and how important it would be in the service of Your Majesty that this Corsair be obstructed in all the routes he may take to return to his country, and as it does not appear to be out of the question that, if he does not find the strait he is looking for, he will follow the course of the Portuguese, I dared (with the zeal I have in Your Majesty's royal service) to tell the Viceroy that it seemed certainly right to send a small vessel to the Philippines, with letters for Molucca, so that they should be warned of the coming of this Corsair and could be prepared to block his way in case he should arrive.

But my suggestion was to little purpose, for the Viceroy held a different opinion, and it seemed to him to be a mistake to send a ship for this purpose. It may be a mistake, but not a very great one, for as the route is a safe and certain one, he would run the risk of losing but little, and, possibly, gaining much. The result of this explanation has been that the Viceroy is displeased with me, as he showed by several words, from which I realised that he did not like me to discuss the matter nor even treat of it.

¹ The summer was considered the unfavourable season for the navigation of the route to the Moluccas.

Since then, I have ceased to do so, for which reason I do not know the particulars that I should like to give to Your Majesty in a detailed account of the matter. It is certain that it was my desire to have the right and timely thing done in Your Majesty's service and that no other consideration was my motive. I therefore bear with patience the evil brought upon me by my good endeavour not to omit a single point in Your Majesty's service, not even the smallest, if within my power.

I pray God that things may have gone forward on the right road, as most suitable in His Holy service and for Your Majesty's realm and for the preservation and reputation of your kingdoms and vassals and for the breaking of the spirit of other nations so that they may not undertake similar insolent and audacious attempts. If this attempt should succeed, others could not be averted without great cost to your Majesty's Royal Exchequer. It must be assumed that those who administer this here must have done what they understood to be proper. I have had the boldness to write this to exonerate myself, and to fulfil a part of my desire that all that relates to the service of Your Majesty should succeed with due prosperity.

It seems to me, that in this case, in order to attain this success, it was not of slight importance that a Portuguese pilot, a great mariner¹, whom the Corsair seized at Cape Verde and brought thence by the Strait to the port of Guatulco in this New Spain where he landed him, should have been brought into the presence of the Viceroy more quickly. From the time when the Englishman left him on land to the day he reached this city, more than thirty days had elapsed. And he was the man from whom one could best obtain counsel as to what ought to be done. It even seemed to me, according to my poor judgment, that it

¹ Nuño da Silva.

would not have been unimportant that those who went in pursuit of the Corsair should have taken him with them. He arrived in ample time for this and, perhaps, if taken on board and intimidated, and, on the other hand, by the offering of gifts and a premium, he might have been the best person to set the expedition on the right road as regards the Corsair's course. And even if one had not made use of him for this, it would seem advisable now that he should be heard in the Royal Council so that it could learn, in greater detail, the entire account of the Corsair's navigation and the steps that could be taken to hinder others from making a similar one. He is now in the Holy Office from which Your Majesty will receive his full account of everything, as he has had time to give it. I am certain that the persons who have him in charge will inform you of all that corresponds to Your Majesty's service, and especially of all things that might be of importance¹....

May Our Lord enrich the Sacred Catholic and Royal person of Your Majesty with more kingdoms and dominions, according to the desire of your faithful vassals and the necessity of the Church.

From Mexico, September 18, 1579.

His Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty's faithful vassal who kisses his royal feet.

DON LUIS DE VELASCO.

On reverse: Feb. 19th, 1580. To the President of the Council of the Indies. Seen. To be put with what concerns Drake.

¹ The last paragraphs of this letter refer to matters entirely unrelated to the present subject.

VI

FIRST DEPOSITIONS

MADE BY
THE PRISONERS OF FRANCIS DRAKE WHO
WERE RELEASED AT GUATULCO AND THE
OFFICIAL LETTERS ACCOMPANYING THE
TRANSMISSION OF THEIR TESTIMONY

I

REPORT FROM GASPAR DE VARGAS, CHIEF ALCALDE OF
GUATULCO, TO THE VICEROY MARTIN ENRIQUEZ¹.

The following is the testimony concerning the Corsair who entered the port of Guatulco on Holy Monday about eleven o'clock of the morning, given by the persons whom he took prisoners and released to-day, Tuesday, at five o'clock of the afternoon.

He is a man of medium height, with a red beard shading into white², and aged thirty years. He calls himself *Francisco Drac* and is an Englishman. He boasts much of being a cousin of *Juan Acines* [John Hawkins] and of having been with him at San Juan de Ulua. He left England on the same day that the comet appeared which was seen in this New Spain. He set out with six galleons and as their General. With these he passed into this South Sea through the Strait of Magellan, and he has come

¹ *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, Patronato, E. 2, C. 5, L. 2-21, No. 6. As Drake entered Guatulco on April 13th this undated letter was written on the 14th.

² "...barbirroxo tirante al blanco..." cf. Nuño da Silva's description, p. 301.

from Chile to this port, following the coast. He says that during this navigation he has taken forty vessels, large and small, and that only four of those he met have escaped him, one of these having been a ship bound from Peru, in which Diego Lopez is coming. The Corsair's vessel carries a great quantity of bronze and iron artillery. She is a strong, leaded ship, of two sheaths, and of three hundred tons. She carries about one hundred and fifty persons who serve as sailors and soldiers. The prisoners say that these are able men, much skilled in warfare. They carry a great quantity of offensive and defensive weapons such as arquebuses, cross-bows, bows and arrows; many fire-bombs and boxes of tar and other instruments of war. According to the accounts of the prisoners they were astonished to see these, all of which the General himself showed them.

The ship is laden with bars of silver and a great quantity of gold, jewels and valuable ornaments, of silk and linens and other things of much value—all of which he displayed, in a grandiose way, to the said prisoners. He told them that, during a storm encountered off the coast of Peru, he had separated from the other five ships of his Armada; but that he has received news that they are safe and is expecting them daily.

The prisoners having begged him to restore some of the things he had taken from them, he, adopting an arrogant air, gave them to understand, by signs, that if they spoke thus he would have them hanged. After this warning not to discuss the subject, they kept silent.

He carries with him a Portuguese pilot who is very skilful. It seems that it is he who governs and directs this Armada. This Portuguese speaks the English language as though it were his own and he is the General's all in all.

Francis Drake is so boastful of himself as a mariner and man of learning that he told them that there was no one in the whole world who understood the art [of

navigation] better than he. From what the prisoners saw of him during their two days' imprisonment, they judge that he must be a good mariner. He also told them that, since he had left his country he had navigated seven thousand leagues and that, to return thither, he would have to sail as many more.

He, moreover, told them on this day, Tuesday, at the time when he released them, that he had resolved to go to Acapulco and to burn and destroy that town and all ships that he found there, for none of them could escape him. He also said that he and the English had resolved to follow this policy and would henceforth pursue it with all their might. With arrogance, he also told the prisoners that it was lucky for them that no soldier of his had been killed, because if a single one of his men had been killed he would not have left a live man of those who might be there and that he would have pillaged and destroyed this port.

He exacted from them the condition that they were to go with him to find and obtain water, which they did on this day, Tuesday.

Before releasing them he demanded from them that to-morrow, Wednesday, Juan Gomez, the captain of Juan de Madrid's ship, which is laden and at anchor, and his sailors, are to give him all the wood he requires for fuel—if not, he threatened that he would burn the ship, laden as she was.

Since he entered this port, he has kept guards in said ship. He ordered Juan Gomez to go and see him and gave him his word that he would not receive any harm. Up to the present it is not known whether Juan Gomez will dare to go and see him because he suspects that Francis Drake needs him to serve—as pilot. I have advised Gomez to supply Francis Drake with all the fuel that he can get, but not to go on Drake's ship.

Francis Drake carries with him a sailor, named Juan Pascual, a Portuguese who was in the frigate of Don Francisco de Zarate which he seized in the Anavacas, between Tehuantepec and Zonzonate. He kept the said Don Francisco Zarate a prisoner for four days and then released him and the frigate, having taken from the latter twelve half-loads of merchandise he wanted, eleven of these being of linen goods and one of silks. He also took a negro and negress, but let Zarate go. He wanted to hang the pilot because when asked if he was a pilot, he had answered "No¹."

They say that although he went along the shore he did not meet Guillermo Hernandez who left this port, with much money, a short time ago.

The prisoners say that, from what they saw and heard from the Englishmen themselves, the vessel carries plunder worth more than a million. The General said so himself, to appear important, and stated that he had seized the treasure which was being carried to His Majesty from Chile and Las Charcas.

This is what it has been possible to find out about the English up to the present hour. They say that they will leave Wednesday night or Thursday morning. Until they have left, it cannot be ascertained what they have taken from the laden ship which is in port, nor what will become of her.

He states publicly that the warfare he is carrying on is a just one, for which he has a licence from his Queen; also other absurdities on this subject².

(Signed) GASPAR DE VARGAS.

¹ See the depositions of this man, named Juan Pascual, pp. 323 and 332.

Drake knew that he was familiar with the coast and made him guide him to a place where water could be procured in safety.

² "Dize publicamente que la guerra que haze es justa y con licencia de su rreyna y otros disparates a este proposito."

2

LETTER FROM VICEROY MARTIN ENRIQUEZ TO THE
VICEROY OF PERU.

Most Illustrious Sir,

On the 23rd of April, in the afternoon, I received notice from the Chief Alcalde of Guatulco, which is one of the ports of this coast, that on Monday of Holy Week, a vessel of English corsairs had entered that port. Some arquebusiers came to land in a launch belonging to the vessel, and there was no kind of resistance, for the inhabitants could not be prepared against anything so unseen, unheard and unthought-of. Nor could there be any resistance, for in the port there were no more than six Spaniards, nor is it a place where there are Indians.

Thus the English entered the church and committed great sacrilege upon a crucifix and images that were therein, slashing them with knives and breaking them in pieces. They seized the vicar and two Spaniards and took three thousand pesos from a merchant as he was on the point of embarking in a ship in that port, which was being laden with native wearing apparel and other trifles. They seized all of the wearing apparel¹. The ship carried no money. They released the said three men and it appears the Englishmen pretended that they had not gone there for any other purpose but that of getting fresh water and wood, of which they were in great want. For

¹ From the letter of Valverde (p. 105) we learn the interesting detail that what Drake seized were all of the finely woven long straight pieces of heavy cotton stuff, with ornamental borders which are still worn as petticoats, by Indian women in many parts of Mexico. The other articles of native dress that he is said to have also taken must have been the native blankets (zarapes) in the manufacture of which the ancient Mexicans excelled and which are to this day eagerly purchased by tourists not only on account of their decorative designs but also on account of their durability which renders them particularly useful as rugs.

they had a superfluity of provisions and even threw overboard a quantity of maize and some oil.

On Thursday of the Last Supper [Holy Thursday], after midnight, the Corsair sailed away and until this day nought is known about him, nor whether he is to return by the way he came. Nor is it known what route he took, for he proclaimed that he was going on to Acapulco because he carried information that he would find there one of His Majesty's ships of 200 tons, one of those that go to and from the islands, and with her another ship of 100 tons with a full cargo destined for Zonzonate. He had the intention of burning these ships. But, to this day, as I have said, he has not appeared at the port of Acapulco, nor has he been seen along the whole coast from which he would surely have been visible, or on which he would have left some trace. Here it is clearly understood that he is not going to seek, as he said, "for straits by which to return." I hold for certain, and have no doubt, that on Holy Friday, before dawn, as I have said, he headed towards New Guinea or the Moluccas, with the intention of following the course of the Portuguese. Although this would not be an easy route, he had no alternative. Being a man who doubtless has with him mariners and practised pilots who know this route and the winds that prevail in it, he did not wish to lose an hour of time, it being well known here that for those who follow this route the 17th of April is already late. For the strong winds from the south-west begin to be violent in that Sea and its coasts after the end of May and increase in fury until August and later, causing ships to be in great danger.

On the said morning, it appears that the Corsair left in the port a Portuguese pilot named Nuño da Silva, whom he had brought with him from Cape Verde. The Chief Alcalde of Guatulco took the deposition of the pilot, who also gave him the relation that I am sending Your

Lordship, in which he gives a detailed account of all that occurred during his voyage until he reached Guatulco. Your Lordship will see whether he tells the truth about all that occurred in your country.

Up to the present I have not seen the pilot, although the Chief Magistrate of Guatulco wrote me that he was sending him to the Chief Magistrate of Oaxaca to be sent on here. I have had men stationed at intervals all along the road and am expecting him hourly. When he arrives, I shall manage, by fair or foul means¹, to make a minute inquiry about this voyage and the Corsair's design in leaving him behind. At present I have my suspicions about this affair.

With regard to the Corsair's ships that are missing and that are said to have come through the Strait with the flagship, although their delay leads me to suspect that they have been lost, it would not be right to live without heed that they may be following the same course as the Corsair. They must have agreed beforehand where they were to meet in case they should be separated by storms, and those who remain behind the light usually follow it². Therefore, the two vessels I have mentioned, which are in the port at Acapulco, are to go out within a month, with all the haste that is possible. On account of the distance from this city to the port the difficulties have been very great and it has been necessary to bring together, from many places, what was indispensable, such as artillery, victuals and other things. It will be necessary for us to agree as to the remedy that must be applied in future. If yonder doorway is not closed, all this coast and this realm will undergo great tribulations and cease to enjoy the treasure it once possessed, which

¹ The Viceroy employed both.

² "los que quedan atras [de] la luz llevan delante."

was the greatest tranquillity in the world, without having the necessity for a single arquebuse.

On the entire coast of this New Spain the corsairs cannot do any harm that would amount to much, because it is almost uninhabited by Spaniards as well as by Indians. Where there are Indians, there are very few and they live in straw huts. There are a few Spanish settlements inland, and the trade from these ports to Nicaragua and Panama consists of some native wearing apparel, beans and things of little importance. If the Strait could be fortified and manned, it would remedy everything. To attempt to keep fleets, as in the North Sea, that would patrol this sea, would be a very troublesome and costly remedy. Your Lordship will have informed His Majesty of what is occurring, as I have done, from this place. If I obtain more light from this Portuguese I shall again give information.

May Our Lord keep the illustrious person of Your Lordship for many years and increase your estate.

From Mexico, 17th of May, 1579.

I kiss the most illustrious hands of Your Lordship.

DON MARTIN ENRIQUEZ.

3

RELATION BY A PORTUGUESE WHO WAS LEFT IN GUATULCO BY THE ENGLISHMAN. (SENT BY GASPAR DE VARGAS TO THE VICEROY AND BY THE LATTER TO THE VICEROY OF PERU.)

Nuño da Silva, native of the Port of Portugal, left his home and country in the month of November of the year of 1577, with a ship of 150 tons, for the island of La Palma, where he loaded his ship with 150 casks of wine.

Thence he started for the island of Cape Verde, to get fish, water and fuel for the voyage to Brazil, whither he was bound. As he was about to cast anchor in the port

of Santiago, off the island of Cape Verde, on the 19th of January, 1578, he saw seven vessels under sail approaching on the windward side of his ship.

The *Capitana* of this fleet (which is the same which entered this port of Guatulco last Holy Monday) grappled with Nuño da Silva's ship for the purpose of boarding her. The *Capitana* carried the Captain-General of the seven vessels, Francis Drake, an Englishman, with 270 men. He seized the said ship and made the men who were in her prisoners. He took them to the Island Del Fuego, and there he transferred them into one of his launches, and cast them adrift, taking the laden ship with him.

He pursued his voyage from the coast of Brazil to the River Plate, where he arrived on the 13th of April and obtained water from the said river. He continued his voyage to the Strait of Magellan until he reached 31 deg. and there he destroyed two of his ships and transferred their crews to the others. Thence he went to the Port de las Islas, where Magellan had wintered, and where he remained until the 17th of August of the same year. There he left two other ships, and killed a very noble gentleman on account of the suspicion he had, that the said gentleman intended to rise against him with the other ships, and kill him¹.

On the 17th of August he left the port. He entered the Strait on the 24th of the said month, and disembogued on the 6th of September of the same year. Two days later he continued his voyage which lasted until the 8th of October when, during a storm, he also separated from the other ships. Nothing has been known of the one or the other ; and both are held to be lost². The Captain of

¹ "donde dexó otros dos navios y mató un cavallero muy principal por sospecha que tuvo que se queria alzar con las naos y matarlo." Cf. Vaux, p. 61.

² It is obvious that some reference to the loss of the "Marigold," which occurred on September 23rd, must have preceded this sentence.

the last of these was a son of the Admiral of the English Queen.

With his ship, he ran along the coast and came to an island whose name he [Nuño da Silva] did not know, situated in 57 deg. latitude. There he procured water and fuel. He reached another island in 39 deg. latitude, the name of which he likewise did not know¹. There he landed and the Indians opposed his taking water, and took two Englishmen prisoners and shot ten of them with arrows, one of whom died. They did not allow him to procure water.

On December 3rd he cast anchor off the mainland in a port of Peru whose name he does not know. It is in 32½ deg. latitude. Through an Indian named Felipe he got information about the country and its people and learned about a ship that was in another port, six leagues distant, named Santiago. He went there and seized the ship which was laden with timber, wines and much gold². He left there on the 7th of the same month and went along the said coast to a port whose name deponent does not know, where he procured water on the 19th of said month. Whilst doing so, five hundred men on foot and on horseback, Spaniards, negroes and Indians, opposed his taking the water. These men took one Englishman prisoner and killed him forthwith.

Thence he departed on the 20th, and on the 23rd anchored in another uninhabited port, on the said coast. There he manufactured a launch with which he returned

¹ According to the pilot's log-book they reached 57 degrees on October 24th, and the island in 39 degrees on November 25th. See pp. 285 and 287, also p. 298. Compare with Drake's version given in "The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins" etc. ed. Sir Clements Markham, Hakluyt Society, vol. lvii, p. 224.

² "The Captaine of Moriall, or the Grand Captain of the South, Admiral to the Ilands of Solomon." *World Encompassed*, Vaux, p. 102.

to the port he had left behind for the purpose of taking a ship which he knew to be there. The inhabitants came out and fought him and he had to return and could do nothing. He returned to the place where he had left his ship and built his launch.

On the 19th of January he left there with his ship, also with that from which he had taken the gold, and the launch, and sailed to another island where he anchored on the 22nd. There he met some Indian fishermen and running along the coast, came on the 6th of February to a port named Rica [Arica], where he found two vessels laden with Spanish stuffs, wines and thirty-seven bars of silver.

On the 7th of said month he started for the coast and on the 9th went to a port in which he seized another ship which had, however, been unloaded but two hours previously and had carried 800 bars of gold belonging to His Majesty ; which was great luck. He immediately left that port and went along the coast, leaving behind him all the ships he had taken and coasting with only his vessel and the launch. On the 13th he reached Callao de Lima where 19 vessels were lying at anchor. He searched them all and, not finding any silver, cut their cables and the masts of the large vessels. He set sail in pursuit of a ship that had reached the port from Panama, laden with merchandise, and whose crew had gone ashore in a boat. He seized the ship, laden as she was, and took the silks he found in her¹. Everything else he cast into the sea and he set the ship adrift because two large ships had come out from Lima after her. Taking flight the Englishmen escaped and let her drive.

On the 20th he took a small ship on her way to Lima laden with native products, all of which he threw into the sea, taking from each ship her pilot and releasing the ship. Running along the coast, he reached Arequipa

¹ The ship of Alonso Rodriguez.

where he found and seized a ship laden with a cargo of Castilian goods. He left this and only took her pilot, being in a hurry to look out for vessels laden with silver.

On this same day, the 26th of February, he took another ship bound for Lima from Panama and laden with Castilian wearing apparel. He only took a negro from this ship and let her drive.

He continued his voyage, and on the 27th of February, at night, took another ship bound for Panama and laden with provisions for the King's vessels, with two thousand bags and other things and with 40 bars of silver and gold. And because a sailor secretly took a bar of gold and did not declare it, he hanged him and let the ship go¹.

Continuing his voyage along the coast, on the night of March 1st he took a ship², in which he found 1300 bars of assayed silver; much silver in small pieces, and much gold, of which there were 300 bars belonging to the King, and 14 chests of reals. He left the ship and did not dare to enter the port of Panama after having captured so good a prize, nor to delay, for fear of the two vessels that had pursued his ship from Lima. He took good care not to enter the town of Panama.

On March 20th, whilst lying at anchor in an isolated port, of which deponent does not know the name nor more than that it was on the coast of Nicaragua, the Englishman took a frigate laden with maize and other native products. On this were two pilots who had been sent by His Excellency from New Spain to Panama. He took one of these pilots³ and left the other and brought the frigate with him, which is the same one with which he entered this port. On

¹ It was not "a sailor" but the clerk who was "hanged" and afterwards described his experience in his deposition given on p. 149.

² "Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion," Master San Juan de Anton's ship.

³ Sanchez Colchero, whose testimony is given on p. 193.

account of contrary weather he was not able to make the port of Realejo, where he intended to anchor.

He continued his voyage and passed by Acaxutlila but did not enter the port, because he saw that there was no vessel therein.

On the 4th of April he seized a frigate on which Don Francisco de Zarate was travelling. He brought the frigate with him for two days, at the end of which he took from her twenty-eight half loads of clothing (most of which belonged to two passengers who were travelling in her) and a negress belonging to Don Francisco. Afterwards he released the frigate and her occupants.

On the 13th of the said month of April¹ he entered the port of Guatulco where he did what His Excellency has already been informed about.

On Holy Thursday, at three o'clock of the afternoon, he set sail, having in the morning cast this said Nuño da Silva into the ship of Juan Gomez without leaving him anything whatsoever in payment of what he had taken from him, and without having previously shown any intention of leaving him anywhere during the entire voyage.

What Nuño da Silva now says is that he understood from the Corsair that he had intended to enter the port of Acapulco and burn His Majesty's ship, of which he had received notice. But, passing by this port of Guatulco, being close to the land, he perceived Juan Gomez' ship lying here, and entered for this reason and also in order to get a supply of water.

He does not know whether the Corsair will now enter Acapulco or not. He says that, according to what he knows about his plans, the Corsair intends to follow the

¹ All Spanish witnesses agree to the above date. Francis Fletcher gives April 15th and states that they departed from Guatulco on the day following, viz. April 16th. See *World Encompassed*, Vaux, p. 113.

coast in search of a strait of which he has information. If he does not find this, he will go to China. According to hearsay, he is a man very learned in the art of navigation, so much so that none is known to excel him. Relying on this he undertook the navigation he has made. He told Don Francisco de Zarate that, if His Majesty gave the English permission to trade in the Indies of the North Sea, they would be peaceable, but if not they would come and commit depredations in both seas.

The said Nuño da Silva says that being, and always having been, a mariner, he had made good and careful observations of the aforesaid navigation¹, and that, if His Excellency considers it advisable and His Majesty should order it, he would tell how the Strait of Magellan could be closed², with great facility, by means of a fort which would cost but little and could draw its supplies from Peru. It would be at a distance of 250 leagues from the nearest Spanish port on the coast of Peru, for that Spanish town is situated in the latitude of 40 deg., and the fort would have to be in 52 deg., which makes a difference of 12 deg.

What has been said about closing the Strait would only hold good in case the Corsair does not discover another strait through which he can pass out³. For if,

¹ The pilot alludes to his log-book, see p. 276.

² This offer and the following statement by the Viceroy of New Spain prove that Nuño da Silva, even under torture, made no mention of the English claim to have discovered that "the Atlanticke and the South Sea meete in a moste large and free scope." Father de Acosta's observation is:

"The Viceroy Don Martin Enriquez said unto me that he held the report for an invention of the English that that Strait should presentlie make an island and that the two seas did ioyne together, for that (being Viceroy of New Spaine) hee had diligently examined the Portugall Pilot who had bin left there by Francis Drake, and yet had no knowledge of any such matter by him." *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, by Father Joseph de Acosta, Hakluyt Soc., vol. i, 1880, p. 140.

³ The pilot alludes here to the mythical strait of Anian or North-West passage which Drake intended to look for after leaving Guatulco.

by chance, he were to discover one, it would be impossible to close this sea. At the same time he [Nuño da Silva] thinks that no such strait exists. No maps record it and there is no information about it. This Englishman is searching for it simply by way of bragging or boasting of his ability.

This English Corsair carries with him Frenchmen, Biscayans, Scotsmen and Flemings, who, all told, make a little over eighty fighting men. He carries much water, wine, a great quantity of flour which he brought and seized, fish, meat, honey, lard, oil, salt pork, and a great abundance of all kinds of food.

He carries, at the sides, seven large pieces of artillery of bronze and of iron, and four in the bows; also much ammunition of war, firearms and powder.

In this port the seamen, whose duty it is to understand such matters, are saying that if this Corsair does not enter the port of Acapulco, it will probably be because he will have seized, outside of it, the "Capitana" that is expected there from the islands.

4

COPY OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY VICEROY MARTIN ENRIQUEZ TO THE VICEROY OF PERU ON MAY 21, 1579.

Illustrious Lord,

I wrote to your Lordship on the 17th of May, giving an account of how the English Corsair (who has been scouring the entire coast, doing the damage of which your Lordship will have heard) entered the port of Guatulco (the principal one of this government); and of what was ascertained there about his voyage, through the deposition of a Portuguese, named Nuño da Silva, who had been brought thither by the Corsair.

I awaited this Portuguese for hours so as to ascertain from him all particulars concerning the voyage he had made and, above all, to gain information and learn about the return voyage of the Corsair.

The said pilot arrived here yesterday morning, at eight o'clock, and I spent the whole day of yesterday, and this day-until noon, with him, examining him as minutely as I could about the entire voyage, so as to have special information about the Strait and of his goings and comings and of everything else up to the day when he reached Guatulco.

Your Lordship will have seen about this in that account which I sent, four days ago, with a duplicate to Guatemala, whither I am also sending this by a special messenger, who will travel post-haste, so that both accounts will reach your Lordship's hands at the same time.

Although I made every possible effort to ascertain from the Portuguese pilot about the Corsair's intended course and the route he intended to take to get out of the South Sea, he remained firm in his denial, saying that he could give no light nor knew anything concerning this. I handed him over to the judges so that they should obtain the information from him by other means¹. But neither one way nor the other sufficed to make him declare anything more than that he had heard, at different times, that [Drake] was bound to go to look for the strait "de los Bacallaos"² and that this was not to be done by keeping close to the coast. Up to the present he has not been seen passing along the many leagues of coast where there are sentinels. I therefore believe that he has taken the route of the Moluccas, so as to follow the course usually taken by the Portuguese, or that he will return

¹ A grim way of conveying the fact that the pilot was subjected to torture.

² "Of stockfish."

and go back the same way by which he entered, which would be the shortest voyage and the least risky, as far as the sea is concerned, though he might encounter some of the vessels of this realm which might not be as negligent as heretofore.

I have learned from the pilot with what ease the return voyage could be made, and that the much-dreaded currents vary, according to the seasons. Thus, as your Lordship will see, when they entered the Strait, the currents ran from south to north.

I write these lines so that your Lordship may be informed of everything. I am sending the aforesaid account and another, which I have found, treating of the Strait, which was written in the year 1553¹. Both will be of use in planning preparations against the Corsair and the protection of the passage through the Strait. If this is postponed, as I have written to His Majesty, it may happen that some one else will constitute himself the master of the Strait. This would double our difficulty, making it necessary first to take the fortifications from those who will have erected them, and then build new fortifications in case the Corsair should arrive there with the riches he carries. Moreover, the fortifying of the Strait would raise the spirits and courage of the people here.

Up to the present we have no news of the course followed by the Corsair since Good Friday when, before dawn, he left the port of Guatulco where he had procured fuel and water. The pilot says that he used all his artillery as ballast and placed the water-casks on the

¹ In his letter of April 26th the Viceroy refers to the information concerning the strait furnished him by "an Augustine friar who had much intercourse with Urdaneta." It seems certain that the above-mentioned treatise on the strait, written in 1553, must be attributed to Andres de Urdaneta himself who, precisely in the year 1553, took the habit of the Augustinian order in the Convent of San Augustin, in the City of Mexico (see Duro, *Armada Española*, tomo ii, p. 232).

top of it. This would appear to indicate that it was not his intention to return by the Strait, keeping along the coast, but that he intended to take to the open sea, although this is a course that I have hitherto never heard of any one having taken.

For all along this coast and that of yonder realm¹ I believe that, in either direction, one always keeps close to the land. It would seem as though the aforesaid was an indication that he wanted to take to the open sea.

As your Lordship will see everything for yourself in the said account, I shall not lengthen this more than to implore Our Lord to preserve the Illustrious person of your Lordship and increase your estate. From Mexico, 21st of May, 1579. I kiss the illustrious hands of your Lordship.

(Signed) DON MARTIN ENRIQUEZ.

This pilot will not confess that he served as pilot nor does this seem to be the case, for he was only taken on Drake's ship when his own caravel was seized, so that he could show the Englishmen where they could obtain water in Brazil. He says that the Corsair brought him along because, before reaching the Strait, they had not been in any country where he could have been left, and he did not want to land him near Lima, lest deponent might give information about him to your Lordship.

I do not know whether this is sufficient reason or whether it is only an attempt on the pilot's part to evade the fact, which is believed by some, that it was he who brought Drake through the Strait. I, personally, suspect him of this. All the persons who were taken by the Englishman and kept on his ship say that he appeared to hold the pilot in great esteem. The latter does not admit this.

Perhaps Your Lordship can throw more light on this and other matters.

5

RELATION OF THE VOYAGE OF THE ENGLISH CORSAIR
GIVEN BY THE PILOT NUÑO DA SILVA IN THE
PRESENCE OF HIS LORDSHIP ON THE 20TH OF MAY,
1579. HE DID NOT GIVE IT OF HIS OWN ACCORD,
WITH SUCH MINUTE DETAILS, FOR HE MERELY
ANSWERED THE SERIES OF QUESTIONS WHICH WERE
PUT TO HIM. (*TITLE OF ORIGINAL SPANISH MS.,
PRESERVED AT THE ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS,
SEVILLE.*)

The relation of a Voyage made by a Pilot, called Nuño da Silua, for the Vice-roy of New Spaine, the 20. of May in the yere of our Lord 1579, in the citie of Mexico, from whence it was sent to the Vice-roy of the Portugall-Indies: wherein is set downe the course and actions passed in the Voyage of Sir Francis Drake, that tooke the aforesayd Nuño da Silua at S. Jago, one of the Islands of Cabo Verde, and carried him along with him through the Streights of Magellan, to the Hauen of Guatulco, in new Spaine, where he let him goe againe¹.

Nuño da Silua, borne in Porto, a citizen and inhabitant of Guaia, saith, that hee departed out of his house in the beginning of Nouember, in the yere of our Lorde 1577, taking

¹ The above text is that of the English translation first published by Hakluyt, vol. xi, p. 133, and reprinted as Appendix III in the *World Encompassed*.

The Spanish original which is preserved in the Archivo de Indias, Seville (E. 2, C. 5, L. 2-21, No. 8) has never been published or calendared. A copy of this is listed by Cesareo Fernandez Duro, *Armada Española*, vol. ii, p. 506, Appendix II, as existing in *Col. Sans de Barutell* vi, 75, now in the Dep. Hidro, Madrid, vol. 26 of MSS.

In *Bibl. Oriental y Occidental*, tomo ii, col. 666, ed. 1738, by Gonzalez de Barcia, mention is made of a MS. in Spanish, possibly the identical copy as above, which was owned by Barcia, entitled "Nuño da Silva, Account of the Voyage of Francis Drake to the Strait, given to the Viceroy of Mexico on May 20th, 1629 (*sic*)."

The Hakluyt translation, reprinted here for purposes of comparison, is completed by translations of the missing portions and variants which exist in the more lengthy Spanish original in Seville.

his course to Cabo Verde, or the greene Cape, where he anchored with his shippe close by the hauen of the Island of Sant Jago, one of the Islands of Cabo Verde aforesayde, beeing the nineteenth of Januarie in the yeere of our Lord 1578. And lying there, there came sixe ships, which seemed to be Englishmen, whereof the admirall boorded his ship, and by force with his men tooke him out of his ship, bringing him in the boat aboard the Admirals shippe, leauing some of his best men aboard his ship¹; and although the fortresse of the Island shot foure or fīue times² at them, yet they hurt not the Englishmen: who hauing done, set saile from thence to the Island of Braua, taking with them the ship of the sayd Nuño da Silua: being there, they filled certaine uessels³ with fresh water: from thence, holding their course inward to sea, hauing first with a boat set the men of Nuño da Siluas ship on land, onely keeping Nuño da Silua in his ship, as also his ship with the wines that were therein. And Nuño da Silua saith, the cause why they kept him on boord was, because they knew him to be a pilot for the coast of Brasilia, that hee might bring them to such places in those countreys as had fresh water.

Being put off from the Island of Braua, they helde their course to the land of Brasilia, which they descried upon the first of Aprill, under the height of thirtie degrees: and without landing or taking in fresh water, they helde on their course to Rio de la Plata, that is the riuer of silver, lying under fīue and thirtie degrees, little more or lesse: where they went on land, and prouided themselves of fresh water. Rio de la Plata

From thence they helde on their course till they came under nine and thirtie degrees, where they ankered⁴: and lying there, they left two of their sixe shippes behinde them; and sailed but foure in companie (that of Nuño da Silua being one) till they came to the Bay called Baya de las Islas, that is, the Bay of the Islands, lying under nine and fortie degrees, where it is sayde, that Magellan lay and wintered there with his shippe, when hee first discouered the Streight, which now holdeth his name. Bay de las Islas Into

¹ Read: "leaving, in deponent's ship, the useless men, such as a few boys and other sailors."

² Read: "shot four shots at them."

³ "some barrells."

⁴ "by some reefs of rocks."

this Bay the twentieth of June they entered, and there anchored so close to the land, that they might send to it with a harquebuse shot: and there they sawe the land to bee inhabited with Indians, that were apparelled with skinnes, with their legges from the knees downeward, and their armes from the elbowes downward naked¹, all the rest of their bodies beeing clothed, with bowes and arrowes in their handes, being subtile, great, and well formed people, and strong and high of stature: where sixe of the Englishmen went on land to fetch fresh water, and before they leapt on land, foure of the Indians came unto their boate, to whome the Englishmen gaue bread and wine: and when the Indians had well eaten and drunke, they departed thence: and going somewhat farre from them², one of the Indians cryed to them, and sayde: Magallanes, Esta he minha Terra, that is, Magallanes, this is my countrey; and because the Englishmen followed them, it seemed the Indians fledde upward into the land, and beeing somewhat farre off, they turned backe againe, and with their arrowes slewe two of the English shippers, one being an Englishman, the other a Netherlander: the rest came backe againe and saued themselues in the boate, wherewith they presently put off from the shore. Here they stayed till the seuenteenth of August, upon which day they set saile, running along by the coast, about a league and a halfe from the land (for there it is all faire and good ground, at twentie, and fve and twentie fathome deepe), and were about foure or fve days before they came to the mouth or entrie of the Streight: but because the wind was contrary, they stayed till the 24. of August before they entred.

The description
of the
Streight of
Magellan

The entrie or mouth of the Streight is about a league broad, on both sides being bare and flatte land³: on the North side they sawe Indians making great fires, but on the South side they saw no people stirring. The foure and twentieth day aforesayd, they beganne to enter into the Streight, with an Eastnortheast wind. This Streight may bee about an hundred and tenne leagues long, and in bredth⁴ a league. About the entry of the Streight, and

¹ "and on their heads they wore nothing."

² "ascended on top of a hill and one of them said:"

³ "on one side the land was flat; on the other it was bare."

⁴ "breadth, at the entrance, one league."

halfe way into it, it runneth right foorth without any windings or turnings: and from thence about eight or tenne leagues towards the ende, it hath some boutes and windings, among the which there is one so great a hooke or headland, that it seemed to runne into the other land: and from thence forward it runneth straight out againe. And although you finde some crookings, yet they are nothing to speake of. The issue of the Streight lieth Westward, and about eight or tenne leagues before you come to the ende, then the Streight beginneth to bee broader, and it is all high land to the ende thereof, after you are eight leagues within the Streight, for the first eight leagues after you enter is low flat land, as I sayd before: and in the entrie of the Streight you find the streame to runne from the South sea to the North sea.

And after they began to saile in with the Eastnortheast wind, being entred they passed along without any let or hinderance either of wind or weather: and because the high land on both sides lay couered with snow, and that all the Streight is faire and cleare, they helde their course a harquebuse-shot in length from off the North side, hauing nine and tenne¹ fathome depth, with good ground, as I said before, where (if neede require) a man may anker: the hilles on both sides being full of trees, some of the hilles and trees reaching downe to the sea side, in some places hauing plaine and euen land: and there they sawe not any great riuers, but some small riuers that issued out of the riffes and breaches of the land: and in the countrey where the great Cape or crooking is, on the South side they saw certaine Indian fishermen in their Canoas or skiffs, being such as they saw first on the North side, but more people they saw not on the South side.

Being out of the Streight on the other side, upon the sixth of September of the aforesaid yeere, they held their course Northwest for the space of three dayes, and the third day they had a Northeast wind, that by force draue them Westsouthwest, which course they held for the space of ten or twelue dayes with few sailes up: and because the wind began to be very great, they tooke in all their sailes, and lay driuing till the last of September.

The 24.² day of the same moneth, hauing lost the sight of one

¹ "may be ten or twelve fathoms."

² "28th."

This
was the
Elizabeth,
M. John
Winter's
ship

of their shippes, which was about an hundred tunne¹, then againe they hoised saile because the winde came better², holding their course Northeast for the space of seuen days, and at the ende of the sayde seuen dayes, they had the sight of certayne Islands, which they made towards for to anker by them, but the weather would not permit them: and being there, the wind fell Northwest: whereupon they sailed Westsouthwest.

They were
driuen unto
57 degrees
of Souther-
ly latitude

* The next day they lost sight of another ship of their company³, for it was very foule weather, so that in the ende the Admirals shippe was left alone; for the ship of Nuño da Silua was left in the Bay where they wintered before they entred into the Streights: and with this foule weather they ranne till they were under seuen and fiftie degrees, where they entered into a hauen of an Island, and ankered about the length of the shot of a great piece from the land, at twentie fathome deepe, where they stayed three or foure dayes, and the wind comming Southward, they weyed anker, holding their course Northward for the space of two daies, and then they espied a small uninhabited Island⁴, where being arriued, they stroke sailes, and hoisted out their boate, and there they tooke many birds and seales.

The Isle
of Mocha
in 38 deg.
30 min.

The next day they set saile againe, holding their course North-northeast and North, to another Island lying fieve or sixe degrees⁵ from the firme land, on the North side of the Streight, where they ankered about a quarter of a league from the land, in twelue fathome water. This Island is small and lowe land, and full of Indians, the Island being altogether possessed and inhabited by them⁶, where they hoysed out their boate, wherein the admirall and twelue⁷ Englishmen entred, going to fetch fresh water, and to seeke for victuals: and being landed upon the Island, the Indians in exchange of other things, brought two Spanish sheepe, and a little maiz or rootes whereof they make bread, and because it was

¹ "the Englishman having lost the launch of the squadron [*patache*] of fifty tons."

² "because the time appeared to him somewhat long."

³ "which might be of 180 tons."

⁴ "they sighted a small low island."

⁵ "five or six leagues from..."

⁶ "this island is small and low and thickly inhabited by Indians, all of it being cultivated."

⁷ "eleven men who, with him [the admiral] made twelve."

late, they returned againe unto their ship, without doing any other thing for that day.

The next day the said Captaine with the aforesaid twelue men¹, being harquebusiers, rowed to land againe, and set two of their company on shore with their vessels² to fetch fresh water, and by the place where they should fill their water there lay certaine Indians secretly hidden, that fell upon the two Englishmen and took them: which they in the boat perceiuing, went out to helpe them, but they were so assailed with stones and arrowes, that all or the most part of them were hurt, the captaine himselfe being wounded with an arrow on the face, and with another arrow in the head, whereby they were constrained to turne backe againe, without once hurting any of the Indians, and yet they came so neere the boats, that they tooke foure of their oares from them. This done, they set saile againe, running along the coast with a South winde, sailing so for the space of sixe dayes³, passing by the hauen called Sant Jago, and put into another hauen, and there they tooke an Indian that lay fishing in a canoa, giuing him linnen and butchers chopping knives, with other trifles, and not long after there came another Indian aboard their shippe called Felipe, and he spake Spanish: he gaue the English Captaine notice of a certaine shippe that lay in the hauen of Sant Jago, which they had left sixe leagues behind them: with that intelligence, the Indian being their guide, the next day they set saile and went to the aforesaid hauen of S. Jago, and entring therein, they tooke the said shippe, wherein they found a thousand seuen hundred and 70 Botijas or Spanish pots full of wine, and other things⁴: which hauing done, they lept on land, where they tooke certaine sakes with meale, with whatsoever they could find; they tooke likewise the ornaments and the reliques⁵ out of the church, wherewith they departed from thence, taking the aforesayd shippe, with two men (that they found in her) with them, and so departed from that hauen, which lyeth under 32 degrees and a

Sir Francis Drake wounded

The hauen of S. Jago in 32 degrees and a halfe

¹ "same eleven men who were arquebusiers and archers."

² "barrels."

³ "with a South wind they ran along the coast, passing by the haven of Santiago and taking haven six leagues further on."

⁴ "1770 earthen jars of wine and much lumber."

⁵ "the ornaments and the chalice from the church."

halfe, running along by the coast till they came under one and thirtie, and thirtie degrees: which was the place where they had appointed to meete, and there to stay for ech other, if by tempest or foule weather they chanced to be separated, and so loose eche others company.

And coming under thirtie degrees, they found a very good hauen, whereinto they entred, and ankered at sixe fathome deepe, the shot of a great peece¹ from the land, which was right ouer against a riuer, where they tooke in sixe pipes of fresh water: and to defend them that fetched the water, they set twelue men upon the land, and being busied in filling of their water, they espied a company of men comming towards them, whereof halfe of them were Spaniards, being about two hundred and fifty horsemen, and as many footemen², but they had no sooner espied them, but they presently entred into the boat, and escaped away, loosing but one man.

The same night they set saile againe with both their ships, running along the coast about ten leagues farther, where they tooke in some fresh water, but because they perceiued certaine horsemen, they departed without lading any more water.

From thence they followed on their course along the coast for the space of 30 leagues, where they entred into a desert or unhabited hauen; yet they went not on land, for euery day they saw people upon the shore, and there they made out a smal pinesse, the peeces whereof they brought ready framed out of England, and hauing prepared it, they launched it into the water, wherein the Captaine with fifteene men entred with the chief boatesman called John the Greeke (being Master of the ship which they had taken in the hauen of S. Jago), wherewith they went to see if they could find the two shippes that they had lost by stormie weather, as I sayd before: and likewise thinking to goe on land to fill certaine vessels with fresh water, they durst not venture, for they saw people on all sides of the shore: so that in the ende they returned againe without hearing of the other ships: being there, they tooke all the ordinance out of their ship, and new dressed and rigged her: which done, they put a small peece

¹ "an arquebuse."

² "they espied a number of Spaniards of whom about 250 were on horse and as many on foot."

of ordinance into the pinnesse, wherewith they set saile againe, following on their course.

Hauing sailed thirteene¹ dayes, they came to an Island lying about the shotte of a base from the land, where they ankered, and there they found foure Indian fishermen in two canoas, who told them that on the firme land they might haue fresh water; but they, understanding that there was not much, and that it was somewhat within the land, would not spend any time about it, but set saile againe, leauing the fishermen with their canoas, following on their course along by the shore.

The next day being somewhat further, they espied certaine Indian fishermen that were upon the land in their houses, which the English captaine perceiuing, presently entred into his pinnesse and rowed on land, where he tooke three of the said fishermen, taking with him halfe² of the fish that lay packed upon the shore ready to be laden, with the which Indians and booty they came on board againe.

The next day following they saw a barke laden with fish that belonged to the Spaniards, with four Indians in it. This barke with the Indians and the fish they tooke, and bound the Spanish ship to their sterne, and so drewe it after them, leaving the said Indians within it, who, by night, unbound the barke and secretly made away with the barke and fish, and were no more seene. The next day the Captaine went into the pinnesse, and because he saw certaine houses upon the shore³, he made thither, and being on land he found two men in them, one whereof he tooke⁴, leaving the other behind, and there he found three thousand pezos of siluer (euery pezo being the value of a ryall of eight), and seuen Indian sheepe and henns, and tooke al whatsoever they found, wherewith they departed from thence, following on their course. And two days after they came to the hauen called Arica, where Arica they found two ships, the one laden with goods and Spanish wares, out of which they tooke only two hundred Botijas, or Spanish pots with wine, and out of the other seuen and thirty barres of siluer, which are peeces of ten or twelue pound eche

¹ "three."

² "taking a quantity of fish."

³ "and, in a ravine, saw some small houses."

⁴ "one of them was the Corsican and he seized him and left the other."

barre, and thinking to leape on shore (with two barks that they found in the said hauen¹, with about seuen and thirty harquebuses and bowes) they perceived on the land certaine horsemen comming towards them, whereupon they left off their pretence, and tooke with them a Negro that they found in the bark, with whom they returned aboard.

The next day in the morning they burnt the ship, that was laden with the Spanish wares, and tooke the other with them; passing forward with it on their course, the Captaine sailing along the shore with his pinnesse, and the ship keeping about a league² from him to seaward, to seeke for a ship whereof they had intelligence, and hauing in that manner sailed about fīue and forty leagues, they found the ship that lay at anker in a hauen, who about two houres before had bene aduertised of an English pirate or sea-rouer, and had discharged eight hundred barres of siluer out of her, and hidden it on the land, which siluer belonged to the King of Spaine, of the which siluer the Englishmen had receiued some intelligence, but they durst not go on land, because there were many Indians and Spaniards³ that stood to gard it, and they found nothing in the ship but three pipes of water: the ship they tooke with them, and being about a league in the sea, they hoysed up all her sailes and let her driue, following on their course with their owne ship and the pinnesse⁴.

Calao
de Lima

Being seuen or eight leagues from the hauen of Calao de Lyma, they espied three ships, and boording one of them, they tooke three men out of her, and so held on their course towards Calao de Lyma, where they entred, being about two or three hours within night, sailing in betweene all the ships that lay there, being seenteene in number: and being among the ships, they asked for the ship that had laden the siluer, but when answere was made them, that the siluer was layd on land, they cut the cables of the ships, and the masts of two of the greatest ships, and so left them. At the same time there arrived a ship from Panama

¹ "with two barks which he had found in said port and into which he had put as many as 70 men, archers and arquebusiers."

² "a league and a half."

³ "many Indian archers and Spaniards who were on land."

⁴ "And then he immediately also left the ship he had taken at Arica and the one from Santiago and let them all drift, following his course with only his ship and the pinnace."

laden with wares and merchandize of Spaine, that ankered close by the English ship, which was, while the English Captaine sought in the other ships for the siluer. As soone as the ship of Panama had ankered there came a boat from the shore to search it: but because it was in the night, they let it alone till morning, and coming to the English ship, they asked what ship it was: whereupon one of the Spanish prisoners (by the English Captaines commandement) answered and said it was the ship of Michael Angelo, that came from Chili: which they of the boat hearing, sent a man on boord, who climbing up, light upon one of the great peeces, wherewith he was afraid, and presently stepped backe againe into the boat (because the shippes that lay there, and that sailed in those countreys, used to carry no great shot) and therewith they were abashed, and made from it: which the ship of Panama hearing, that was newly come in, shee judged it to be a rouer, and therewith cutting her cables shee put to sea, which the Englishmen perceiving, shipped certaine men in their pinnesse, and followed her: and being hard by her, they badde her strike, which they of the ship refused to doe, and with a harquebuse shot killed one of the Englishmen, wherewith they turned again into their shippe, and presently set saile, following after the ship, which not long after they ouertooke: which they of the shippe perceiving, hoysed out their boate, and leaping into it, rowed to the land, leaving the shippe with all the goods, which the Englishmen presently tooke, and with her sailed on their course.

The next day¹ they saw a boat with sailes making towards them, whereby they presently mistrusted it to be a spie; and not long after² they perceiued two great ships comming towards them, which made the English thinke they came to fight with them; whereupon they let the ship of Panama driue, therein leauing John the Greeke, with the two men that they had taken the same day that they entred into the Calao de Lyra, as I sayde before, and presently hoysed all their sailes, and sailed forward, not once setting eye againe upon the aforesayde ships, for they made towards the ship of Panama, which the Englishmen let driue. From thence they sailed againe along the coast, following on

¹ "in the morning."

² "at eleven o'clock."

their course: and hauing sailed certaine dayes¹, they met a frigate that went towards Lyma, laden with wares and merchandises of the countrey, from whence the Englishmen tooke a lampe² and a fountaine of siluer, and asked the pilote, being a Spaniard, if they met not with a ship, that they understood should be laden with silver; but the one pilote saide he met her not, and the other said he³ saw her about three dayes before. This frigate came not to the ship⁴, but to the pinnesse wherein the Captaine sailed, for the pinnesse ran close by the shore, and the ship kept a league and a halfe from the land: whereupon they let the frigate goe, following on their course.

Payta

Two dayes after they came to the hauen called Payta⁵, where they found a ship laden with Spanish wares, which the pinnesse boarded, and tooke without any resistance: for as soone as the Spaniards perceiued the Englishmen, they presently made to land with their boate, and two of them lept into the sea, none staying in the shippe but the Master, Pilote, and some Negros, out of the which shippe the Englishmen took the pilote, and all the bread, hennes, and a hogge, and so sailed forward with the shippe: but being about two harquebus shot to seaward, they let it goe againe, not taking any thing out of it; and asking after the ship which they sought for, they told them that about two dayes before she departed from that place, wherewith they followed on their course, and before night they met with a ship of Panama, which they presently boarded, but tooke nothing from her but onely a Negro; and so left it, holding on their course.

The next day being the first of Februarie⁶, they met another ship that sailed to Panama, laden with fish and other victuals, and fortie barres of siluer, and some gold, but I know not how much, which they tooke, and sent the passengers (with two friers⁷ that were in her) in a boate to land. The next day they hanged a man of the ship, because hee would not confesse two plates of golde

¹ "after a few days, he does not remember how many."

² "a jug or pitcher."

³ "and others said Yes, that they had seen her three days before."

⁴ It was not the ship, but the pinnace that went to this frigate.

⁵ Arequipa.

⁶ "The next day, which was the last day of February."

⁷ "two Dominican friars."

that he had taken, which after they found about him: which done, they let the ship driue, following on their course.

The first of March, towards noone, they espied the ship laden with siluer, being about foure leagues to seaward from them: and because the English ship was somewhat heauy before¹, whereby it sailed not as they would haue it, they tooke a company of Botijas or Spanish pots for oyle, and filling them with water, hung them by ropes at the sterne of the ship to make her sayle the better: and the shippe that sayled towards Panama made towards the English shippe to know what shee was, thinking it to bee one of the shippes that used to saile along the coastes, and to traffique in the countrey: and being hard by her, the English captaine badde them strike, but the other refusing to doe it, with a great peece he shotte her mast ouerboord, and hauing wounded the master with an arrowe, the shippe presently yeelded, which they tooke, and sayled with her further into the sea, all that night and the next day and night, making all the way they could.

A pretie
deuice to
make their
ship saile
more
swiftly

The third day being out of sight of the land, they beganne to search the ship, and to lade the goods out of her into their ship, which was a thousand three hundred barres or peeces of siluer, and foureteene chestes with ryals of eight, and with gold: but what quantitie it was I know not, onely the passengers sayd that there was great store, and that three hundred barres of the siluer belonged to the king, the rest belonged to certaine merchants. That done, they let the ship with the men saile on their course, putting the three pilots in her that they brought with them, so that as then they had none but their owne men aboard², being the sixth of March, and from thence they held their course towards the land of Nicaragua.

Nicaragua

¹ "and because his ship went somewhat ahead [took the lead] and in order that she should not make such headway." "*y porque su nao yua algo delantera y no navegase tanto hecho cables por popa con botijas llenas de agua.*" The Simancas text proves the accuracy of Sir John Knox Laughton's opinion that the Hakluyt version rested on a mis-translation. The use of drags to hinder the progress of a ship which appeared to be advancing under full sail was "a common device of pirates" as has been pointed out by Mr Julian Corbett (*op. cit.* i, p. 274), who endorses Sir J. K. Laughton's view and refers to the testimony of John Drake (see p. 48) as proving that the motive for using drags was obviously to slacken and not accelerate the speed of a vessel.

² "he remained with only the pilots and men he had brought with him."

The Island
of Canao
The first
sight of
Nueva
Españna

They calke
and trimme
their ship
at the Isle
of Canno
ouer
against
Nicaragua

Sea-charts
of the south
Sea taken

The thirteenth of March, either the day before or after, in the morning they descried land, not being very high, being a small Island¹ two leagues from the firme land, and there they found a small Bay, wherein they ankered at five fathome deepe close by the land, and there they stayed till the twentieth day². Upon the which day there passed a frigate close by the Island, which with their pinnesse they followed, and taking her, brought her to the English ship, which frigate was laden with *Salsaperilla*, and *Botijas* or pots with butter and hony³, and with other things. The English captaine went on boord, and cast the *Salsaperilla* on the land, leauing all the rest of the wares in the frigate, and then he put all his peeces into the frigate, that so he might lay his ship on shore, to new calke and trimme her, which continued till the three and twentieth or four and twentieth of March. Which done, and hauing made prouision of wood and fresh water, they held on their course along by the coast, sayling Westward, taking the sayd frigate and her men with them, and hauing sailed two dayes they tooke their men out of her, and set them in the pinnesse, among the which were foure⁴ sailers, that meant to sayle to Panama, and from thence to China, whereof one they tooke, with the letters and patents that hee had about him, among the which were the letters of the king of Spaine, sent to the gouernour of the Philippinas, as also the sea-cards wherewith they should make their voyage, and direct themselues in their course⁵.

And so sailing untill the sixth⁶ of April, about euening they discovered a shippe that held two leagues to seaward from the land: and before the next day in the morning they were hard by her, and suddenly fell upon her while her men slept, and presently made the men enter into their ship, among the which was one Don Francisco Xarate. Which done, they followed on their course with the sayd ship, out of the which they tooke certaine packes and other wares, but I know not what it was⁷. They

¹ "land...and a small island."

² "until the twentieth day. On the twenty-first there passed..."

³ "honey and maize."

⁴ "two."

⁵ "among which were the letters from His Majesty for the Governor of China and the quarter charts ("cuarterones" = hydrographic charts which represent a quarter of the coast of which there is a general chart) and collection of sea-charts."

⁶ "third."

⁷ "how much it was."

likewise took a negro¹ out of it, and three days after they both let the ship and men goe whether they woulde, setting therein² the two saylers that should goe for China, which they had taken in the frigate, keeping onely one sailer to shewe them where they should find fresh water, to the which ende they tooke the emptie vessels with them to fill with water, and so kept on their course to the hauen of Guatulco, where they put in, being upon Munday the thirteenth of Aprill, and hauing ankered³, they stayed there till the sixe and twentie of Aprill⁴: and about three or foure houres within the night, they set sayle, holding their course westward and an houre or two before they let Nuño da Silua goe, putting him into another ship, that lay in the hauen of Guatulco.

They
arriue at
Guatulco,
Aprill 13
Stilo nouo
Nuño da
Silua set
on land

From thence forward the Englishmen passed on their voyage, to the Islands of Malucos, and from thence they passed by the Cape de Buena Esperança, and so to England, as it is well knowen, so that this is onely the description of the voyage that they made, while the said pilote Nuño da Silua was with them.

THE FOLLOWING DETACHED NOTES WHICH EXIST IN THE ORIGINAL, PRESERVED IN THE ARCHIVO DE INDIAS, DO NOT APPEAR IN HAKLUYT'S ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

Nuño da Silva, pilot, native of Lisbon, citizen of Oporto, and resident of Gaya, Portugal, on being questioned, declared as follows:

That in the declaration made in the presence of the

¹ "negress."

² "therein one of the two mariners."

³ "he anchored and there happened what is known, and on Thursday the 26th of April at four or six o'clock of the evening the Englishman set sail and navigated towards the west. And that, at one o'clock of the same night the Englishman left this deponent, Nuño da Silva, in the other ship which was in the port of Guatulco."

⁴ In both documents a curious blunder appears here, an attempt having been made to alter a date from the Old to the New Style. The first date, April 13th, was left Old Style as recorded in all the Spanish official documents, but the date of Drake's departure which took place on the 16th is given as the 26th, and the 13th is designated as being *Stilo nouo*. Instead of 26th, the date according to New Style should read 16th.

Viceroy Don Martin Enriquez, where it says "that the English Corsair took him and his men in a pinnace" it should be added that this deponent carried in his ship all the merchandise and victuals that he had to take to Brazil, and the English Corsair took the ship with him exactly as it was. When he [Nuño da Silva] reached the age of eight years, he went to Brazil and he has been there and resided there, for a long time and has navigated thence many times to Portugal and from Portugal to Brazil.

The Captaincies that there are in Brazil are the following:

1. The island of Tamaxaca: port and captaincy of Fernan Boco. Its governor is Duarte Cuello.
2. The Bay of All Saints. Pertains to His Majesty. City of Salvador, the seat of the governor and the Royal Audiencia of His Majesty.
3. The river of Two Islands.
He does not know who is its governor.
4. Puerto Seguro. This belongs to the heirs of Pedro de Ocampo.
5. The Captaincy of Espiritu Santo belongs to the heirs of Baco Fernandez Cotino.
6. The Rio de Janeiro pertains to His Majesty.
7. The port of San Vicente belongs to the family of Martin Alonso de Sosa.

He says that Francis Drake is a great mariner and carried a map of the World, and other maps which, he said, had been made in England. The map of the World which he mentioned above was made in Portugal, but he does not know by whom¹.

Nuño da Silva further declares that after leaving the island of Santiago of Cape Verde, which lies in 15 deg. north, until they reached 6 deg. north, the winds were

¹ See Part XI, Letter 6, which relates to this map.

ordinarily from north-east, east-north-east and east. From about 6 deg. north, to the equator, the winds were usually south-east or south-south-east with occasional showers. The same winds blow to about five or six deg. south of the equator and from there to Cabo Frio, which lies in $23\frac{1}{2}$ deg. of latitude south, the usual winds are east or south-east, until the month of September. After entering 30 deg. latitude south, to the River Plate, which lies in 35 deg., the winds are north and north-west. From the River Plate to the Strait, during the months of May, June, July and August, the prevalent winds are north and north-west. The winds encountered in the first half of the strait were east, north-east, and in the second half, until they passed out of it, north and north-west.

He says that :

They went directly to the Strait and did not go about looking for more than one entrance, because the land was less high than before and they could see low land ahead.

VII

THE LOG-BOOK OF NUÑO DA SILVA

PORTUGUESE PILOT

NOTE.

THE log-book of the Portuguese pilot, Nuño da Silva, is preserved at the Archives of the Indies at Seville in precisely the place where it should be, namely in a "Legajo" or bundle labelled: "About explorations [or discoveries] of the Strait of Magellan¹."

Its contents are, however, erroneously described in a misleading endorsement which reads: "Notes about the route which was being followed by the Pilot, Nuño da Silva, in a vessel when it was taken by the English Corsair Francis Drake, 1583"; this is also reproduced in the Archives Catalogue.

It was not until I had carefully examined and studied the document that I realised its true nature, finding that the wrong date ascribed to it was that of the year in which, after his return to Spain, da Silva applied for and obtained the restitution of his account-book from which, however, the pages containing the log-book were extracted and kept by the Spanish authorities. Stitched to the front of the log-book is a sheet on the obverse of which, entirely in the pilot's script, the following petition, in Spanish, is written:

"Very eminent Lord,

"Nuño da Silva, pilot, affirms that your Secretary, Juan de Ledesma, has in his keeping, a note-book containing the estimate and account of what Nuño da Silva carried in the vessel that was taken from him by Francis Drake. In the same note-book the voyage he made when he navigated through the strait is

¹ E. I, C. I, L. 2-32, No. 30.

written out. As it is proper that he should have said book in his possession so that he can exonerate himself in case that claims should be made against him, Nuño da Silva begs Your Lordship to give an order to the said Secretary to deliver up and return it to him. In case there should be any objection to the returning to him of his log-book of said navigation, he suggests that the pages on which it is written be either deleted, or extracted from the book. The granting of this petition would be a mercy conferred upon

[signed]

Nuño da Silva."

On the reverse of the page are the endorsements: "Navigation of the Strait. Nuño da Silva, pilot," and the note: "Give him a copy of the parts which concern him, or the pages themselves" followed by the receipt, also in Spanish, in the handwriting of the Secretary:

"In Madrid on the 10th of October, 1583.

"I have received from the Secretary Juan de Ledesma the pages on which are [written] my accounts, which, by order of the Members of the Council, were delivered to me.

"For the truth of which I sign this with my name

[signed]

Nuño da Silva.

"In Madrid, 8 Oct. 1583¹."

The log-book itself consists of:

(a) A small unbound book formed by sixteen sheets stitched together, the exterior pages are much thumb-marked, and the entries are made on $13\frac{1}{2}$ of the pages. On one of the outer sheets, which is half torn off, the Pilot's monogram is scribbled twice. This consists of an N and S interlaced, surmounted by a number 4 which resembles the sail of a ship. In the Archaeological Museum at Angers, France, on a 16th century tombstone, I saw an initial surmounted by the same representation of a 4, which suggests that it may have been a sign in general use among pilots.

¹ See Plate XV.

(b) Stitched to the above, so carelessly that several pages are out of their right order, are several sheets of larger size, the first of which contains the continuation of the log-book entries until its ending on the day preceding the Pilot's release. This is followed by two pages (obviously belonging to a duplicate and more detailed copy of the log-book, of which the Pilot seems to have regained possession along with his accounts) and several blank sheets.

The pilot's methodically kept log-book, written in Portuguese, begins on the day he was taken prisoner by Drake (Jan. 19, 1578) and ends on the day when the port of Guatulco, where he was released, was reached (April 13, 1579). It therefore covers a period of fifteen months, during which Nuño da Silva made 205 entries, the caligraphy and orthography of which are equally illiterate. Through the great kindness of Mr Edgar Prestage, B.A., I was able to have a transcript made in Lisbon, by the accomplished Portuguese palaeographer Senhor Alonso Valdez, who worked from my set of photographs of the log-book. When he had accomplished his task Mr Prestage and Senhor Pedro de Azavedo, both expert palaeographers, carefully revised it, offering suggestions about certain words which baffled decipherment.

It was their opinion that the entries were too short and obscure to permit of a satisfactory translation being made, and the copy was sent to me untranslated. Upon a careful examination of the text, now disclosed to me, I realised that with the aid of Nuño da Silva's three Spanish accounts of the identical journey and the English accounts, nearly every statement contained in the log-book could be verified, and that with a thorough familiarity of the subject one might hope to satisfactorily interpret the document. For instance the mysterious single entry made in July, 1578, *the cortaram a cabeça* = "they cut off his head" could but refer to Doughty's execution and so on.

The following translation is the result of my painstaking endeavour to interpret the text with the all-important help kindly given by Mr J. A. J. de Villiers, the Secretary of the Hakluyt Society, who is a Portuguese scholar and has had much practice in the translation of 16th century Portuguese documents.

We have jointly translated the text as literally as is consistent with rendering it intelligible, taking special pains to preserve (as

I have done throughout this volume) the quaint and sometimes picturesque modes of expression employed by the writer.

As against the 205 dates recorded by Nuño da Silva we have hitherto had only 59 recorded by Francis Fletcher within the same period of about fifteen months. It will be seen that only 21 of Fletcher's dates agree with those given by the Portuguese pilot. These 21 dates, some of which are also recorded by John Cooke and Edward Cliffe, are, however, precisely those associated with the principal events of the voyage and the momentous departures and arrivals which must have been indelibly impressed upon the minds of all alike.

Nuño da Silva's entries concerning the respective dates of Doughty's trial and execution, which are not mentioned by Fletcher or John Cooke, coincide, moreover, with the dates given by Edward Cliffe. The remarkable unanimity of testimony concerning the dates of the most important events which occurred during the fifteen months of da Silva's captivity, proves that he and the English authorities employed the same calendar¹.

As against the 21 dates that agree, we have 38 cases in which the Portuguese and the English assign different dates to the occurrence of minor events.

Some of these divergencies may indicate that when, as is known, Drake's ships were separated², sometimes for months at a time, Nuño da Silva and the English narrators had different experiences.

In other cases the lack of agreement is evidently due to the fact that Fletcher and others wrote from memory about certain portions of the voyages, giving the main facts which occurred with but occasional references to actual dates. As a complement to the English narratives and Nuño da Silva's three accounts of the voyage, his methodical and consecutive entries are of great value as furnishing incontrovertible evidence concerning the accuracy of certain matters which have been hitherto regarded as more or less doubtful.

¹ Beneath Nuño da Silva's entries for each month I have reproduced all dates for the same period that are recorded by Fletcher, Cooke and Cliffe, marking by asterisks the 21 important dates about which all agree.

² "...being cast about the seas...our fleet was so separated that in many monthes after we came not together againe...the [Portuguese] pilot being in the Admiral," Vaux, p. 35. See also da Silva, p. 297.

The most valuable portions of the log-book are, of course, the consecutive daily entries written between the date of Drake's entry into the South Sea (Sept 6th, 1578) and that on which he reached the island of Mucho (Nov. 25th, 1578).

While the English authorities specify twelve dates only in their narratives of that period, Nuño da Silva's log-book shows 50 entries. He, naturally, wrote none during the terrible storm that raged between Sept. 7th and 28th, or between Oct. 8th and 13th.

The fresh light that is thrown upon Drake's voyage by the testimony of the log-book, when considered in conjunction with other documents, is discussed in my introduction to the present volume.

NUÑO DA SILVA'S LOG-BOOK, 1578

IN THE NAME OF GOD AND OF OUR LADY OF CONCEPTION.

19th. The nineteenth day of the month of January. The English took us, opposite Santiago, by force of artillery. Ours discharged four shots at them.

21st. Saturday, the twenty-first. They sent off the ship's company.

Thence they went to the south-east by south, until the end of January¹.

¹ *Francis Fletcher*: "...Coming to the southerly cape of the iland we discovered near to the seaside the town of St James with a castel and blockhouse, as it should seeme well mounted with ordinance...the castel applied the pinnis with great shott to defend the [Portuguese] shipp...but we brought it away...a shipp...laden with singular wines, sackes, and canaryes, with wollens and linen clothes, silkes and velvetts, and many other good commodities *which stood us in that stead, that she was the life of our voyage, the neck whereof otherwise had been broken* for the shortness of our provisions" (*Sloane MS. 61*). "They...shot off two great pieces into the sea, which were answered by one given them againe from us...Here [at the Island of Fuego] we dismissed the Portugalles taken neere Santiago and gave them in exchange for their old ship our new pinnace" (*World Encompassed*).

John Cooke: "30th Januarye we fell with...Iland called S. Iago...by the which as we passed...they shot at us three peeces all of which felle short of us...we found two shippes to the one of which we gave chase ...and in the end barded hir with his ship boate, without any resistance they yelded...retayninge with him the portugall pilote he gave to the rest...his pinnis."

Edward Cliffe: "30th January...ranne over to Sant Iago...took a

— 1578.

emmo m a d i s i a m o f a
 s t u r o a m f i s a m

1 o m a f a m u s m e m m a n s y a f i o m
 x i a s a m z a b w a z t o a b o m b a r
 o a i f i z a f u m a m d o z a f a b o m a
 19 d i s a m b i e g a f o m m e s z a m e z t o
 2 b o c a f a m a y m d i s f a s a b a o
 21 a f m z i f u a f z a m f

2 o a l l y f i f u m a o f u s z i c a r z
 a f a l l a z f m d i z a m y f o

f a f i z 20

1 2 p i m m y f o a a f i f i z 20 z a f a m m
 d i n a o (20) p y p a f i f u f i m y p a f a
 f o a p a

2 2 o a f z a f a m a m f a r o f a b a f f
 i f i r a m o m s m o c a m n f
 2 o m f

2 m a f m o f z a m s f a b i c o m a
 3 f a a f i z m e m o i l o n f a
 m a r f o

2 a o f z a f o m m y d i m a r f f a
 m d i f i f u f o a b a y a

FIRST PAGE OF NUÑO DA SILVA'S LOG-BOOK,
 begun on the day he was taken prisoner by Francis Drake, January 19, 1578.

Fac-simile of the original preserved in Archivo Gen. de Indias, Seville.

FEBRUARY

1st. The first day of February they took out of the ship 20 pipes of wine and chests of clothing.

2nd*. They took out bales and barrels and continued on the same route.

20th. Crossed the line on the twentieth of this month. At the end of this month were in with the island of *Fernam de llonha*¹.

Portugal shippe...From hence ran to...the Isle of Fogo...here the Generall discharged the Portugalls."

* The asterisks designate those dates that are found associated with the same events in the log-book and in one or more of the English authorities quoted.

¹ Fernando de Naronha, a volcanic island, eight miles long, in the South Atlantic Ocean, 125 miles from the Eastern extremity of Brazil, to which it belongs. It was sighted by Winter on his homeward journey. Vaux, p. 283.

Francis Fletcher:

"Feb. 1. Having thus visited as is declared the ilands of Cape Verde...the second of Feb.* we departed thence directing our course towards the straights so to passe into the South Sea; in which course wee sayled 63 dayes without sight of land (passing the line equinoctiall the 17 day of the same month) untill we fell with the coast of Brasill the 5th of April following" (*World Encompassed*).

"We continued 34 dayes without sight of land...In these... did we pass 54 dayes from the land of Africa to the Coast of Brasilia" (*Sloane MS.*).

John Cooke:

"Having thus in the beginning of Februarye put out of the Iland of the Cape de Verde we had not the syght agayne of any land until the VI of Aprill that we fell with the coste of Brazylle...."

Edward Cliffe:

"February 1. Dismissed the Portugals ...giving them our Pinnesse.

2*...we sett off from Brava...running ...until the 9th of February.

17th we were right under the line...."

MARCH

On the 10th day of the month of March were in a bay in 13 deg.

All this month he ran along the coast of Brazil whither he went for to go to *Spirito Santo*, to put me on land and give me my ship and for this they held a council.

APRIL

*On the fifth day of the month of April we had sight of land in 30 degrees.

On the 12th we had sight of land in $34\frac{2}{3}$ degrees.

14th. We entered the River Plate.

15th. Found fresh water.

16th*. Took in water and sailed up the river at night.

18th. Came to anchor eight leagues up the river and caught three seals.

19th. Stayed at anchor.

22nd. Went further up the river for 25 leagues where he took water into two ships.

23rd. Returned by south side.

25th. Sailed out towards the south-east.

26th. On the same course, in sight of land.

27th. We reached land in 30 degrees¹.

¹ Francis Fletcher:

*April. "We fell with the coast of Brasill the fifth of April."

"...Aprill 14th in the morning.....we came to anchor in a bay under the Cape."
[Saint Mary.]

"April 16th*. Notwithstanding that in this first bay we found sweet and wholesome

John Cooke:

"April 6th.....we fell with the coaste of Brasyle...

7th...great storme ...lost the Canter."

Edward Cliffe:

"April 5th...we had a very sweet smell from land..."

14th...we found a little Island...by the entrance of the River of Plate...in 35 deg."

MAY

- 1st. On the first day of May we proceeded along the coast.
- 2nd. On the same course, in a depth of 9 or 8 fathoms.
- 3rd. We lay at anchor becalmed.
- 4th. The same.
- 5th. Sailed along the coast.
- 6th. On the same course, with a depth of 11 and 12 fathoms.
- 7th to 9th. The same.
- 10th. Came to anchor near land in 47 degrees.
- 13th*. On the thirteenth day of this month went ashore, and the Indians took the captain's cap.
- 14th. We sailed out of the port.
- 15th. We explored the coast.
- 16th. On the same course.

Francis Fletcher :

John Cooke :

Edward Cliffe :

water...we removed some twelve leagues farther up...where we anchored and rode till the 20th day at night in the meane space we killed divers seales...

...Haling therefore to sea-ward againe the 27 of the same moneth (after that we had spent a just fortnight in that river) we passed by the South side thereof into the maine...its about 36 deg. 20 min. and somewhat better South latitude...

....And therefore he continued on his course to find a convenient harbour..... searching from 36 to 47 deg." (*World Encompassed*).

"19th.....found a deepe bay... Hither came all our fleete to anchor and rode their until the 20th day at night...

27th...fell with the lande...on the south part of the river Plate.... "

"28th...found her againe ..."

17th. On the same course along the coast and we sighted a great rock, six leagues out at sea, in $48\frac{1}{2}$ degrees

18th. Off the shore.

20th. We cut timber until the end of this month when we put out to sea, tacking, by a north-west wind¹.

¹ Francis Fletcher :

"May 8th by another storm the Caunter was once more severed from us.

12th.....wee had sight of land in 47 deg. where we were forced to come to anchor...

13th*. Our Generall.....with some others.....rowed into the bay.....but there was sudainly so great an alteration in the weather into a thick and misty fogge, together with an extreme storme and tempest, that our Generall, being now 3 leagues from his ship, thought it better to returne, than either to land or make another stay.

14th...the weather being faire.....our Generall determined to go ashore...

15th. We departed thence on the 15th of May.....held our course South...made about 9 leagues in 24 houres.

17th...We found a bay...into which we haled and anchored.

18th. We came further into the bay where we cast anchor

John Cooke :

"May 13th. The price was forced to wey anker and beare it out to sea.

17th...sckynge the price.

18th. We all bore into the safe harborow ...being Whitsunday."

Edward Cliffe:

"May 12th...sighted land came to anchor in 28 fathoms, 47 deg.

13th. The Prize weighed the anchor at night and ran to the southwards.

14th. The other ship ran to sea not being able to ride...

15th...all the rest of the fleet mette with him [the General] save the Prize and the fly-boat.

16th. We ran into a bay to the southwards of Cape Hope.

18th...in the morning we had word from the ships that they

JUNE

19th. Until the 19th day of this month of June we sailed about by a north-west wind. On this day we came to anchor near the coast.

20th*. We entered into *Abra de Islas* in 49 degrees, south.

* 22nd*. On this day, which was Sunday, the Captain set out with twelve men to ascend the river for a league. He landed with 4 men armed with arquebuses, one with a bow and another with a sword and shield. They found four Indians with bows and arrows who ate and drank with them. After they had parted they shot back arrows and killed two of the company.

30th*. On the 30th day of this month they passed sentence that he was to die¹.

¹ Francis Fletcher:
and made our abode
full fifteen dayes"
(*World Encompass-*
ed).

John Cooke :

Edward Cliffe:
had found a safe har-
bour.....we weighed
and ran in,...being
Whitsunday.

20th. The Eliza-
beth...put forth to sea,
to look for the Prize
and not finding her
came in the next day.
In the meanwhile the
country people.....
snatched our Gen-
eral's cap from his
head.

June 3rd...we de-
parted from thence
[Seale bay]."

"June 3rd...We set
saile from Seale bay...
12th...We fell in
with a little bay...

14th. We weighed
anchor...and kept on
our course southward
till the

17th...cast anchor
in 50 deg. 20 m.

18th...ranne back
toward the line...to
find our ship and

JULY

2nd*. They cut off his head.

AUGUST

17th*. Started for the strait. It was Sunday.

20th*. Reached the mouth of the strait.

21st*. Approached nearer.

22nd. Came to anchor near the mouth.

23rd. Entered into the strait. Inside the mouth the Indians made great fires.

24th*. Landed to get water and brought back birds and water. Southwards we saw fires coming out of the earth.

25th. Stayed at anchor in the same place and caught many birds¹.

26th. Sailed further into the strait.

Francis Drake :
friends whom we had
lost...

John Cooke :

Edward Cliffe :

"June 19th...toward
night we had syght
of the pryce, very
neare the...porte of
S. Julyan...in 49-30
deg. S.

19. "We met with
our Prize...*The day
following we found a
harbour...

20th* ... Entered
Port Saint Julian in
49 deg. 30 min.

20th*. Entered
port S. Jullian...

22nd*...Our Gen-
erall...upon his land-
ing...Master Oliver,
the master gunner...
was slaine outright...
Mr Robert Winter...
wounded.....past re-
coverydiedthesecond
day after".....(*World
Encompassed*).

22nd*...Our Gen-
erall went ashore...
they slewe two of our
menne."

22*. Our Generall
going to shore upon
the maine...

* The last of
June M. Thomas
Doughty was brought
to his answer, was
accusedandconvicted
and condemned."

¹ Attention is drawn here to Francis Fletcher's statement that the Portuguese pilot professed to have experience of the "nature and qualities" of the birds in this latitude and gave the Englishmen "strange reports" about them (*Sloane MS. 61, Vaux, p. 30*).

27th. Came to anchor and took in water and on the same day set sail.

28th. We went forward by tacking.

29th. We went forward by tacking and on the same day we came to anchor.

30th. We set sail towards the interior of the strait.

31st. The same¹.

SEPTEMBER

1st. On the first day of this month came to anchor amongst some islands.

2nd. In the morning we set sail.

¹ Francis Fletcher :

John Cooke :

Edward Cliffe :

"August 17th*. We departed.....and set our course for the Straight, Southwest.

20th*. We fell in with the cape, neere which lieth the entrance into the straight.

24th*. Bartholomew day, we fell with three islands bearing triangle wise one from another; one of them was very faire and large and of a fruitfull soile, upon which, being next to us and the weather very calme, our Generall with his gentlemen and certain of his mariners, then landed, taking possession thereof in her Maies ties name, and to her use and called the same Elisabeth Iland" (*World Encompassed*).

"August. The XVII of August* our generall departyd this harbour.

The XXI of August* we entered the streyghts called Magellianes streytes.

The XXIV* of the same we arrived at an Iland where we had greate store of fowles which could not fly...."

"July 2nd*, 1578... He was beheaded...

August 17th* aboute noone we departed thence.

20th*...we seized Cape Victorie, by the which Cape is the way into the South Sea."

- 3rd. The same course.
- 4th. Came to anchor and found a canoe with four Indians. In the afternoon we set sail.
- 5th. The same course, due west.
- 6th*. This day we sailed out of the strait into the self-same South Sea.
- 7th. The wind came from the prow, we going south-east with a strong north-west wind.
- All this month we went along in this manner.
- 28th. On this, the 28th, day we lost *Maragota* [the *Marigold*]¹.

OCTOBER

- 1st. On the first day of this month we set sail in a north-easterly direction.
- 2nd. On the same course.
- 3rd. The prow to the North.
- 4th. On the same course.*
- 5th. The same.
- 6th. The same.
- 7th*. Made land in 51 degrees and came to anchor

¹ Francis Fletcher :

"September 6th*. The sixt of September we had left asterne of us all these...ilands and were entered into the South Sea.

7th.....God by a contrary wind and intollerable tempest ...forcing us...to alter our course...

15th. The moone was eclipsed in Aries. [This date is not given by Nuño da Silva.]

30th.....In the night...the sorrowfull separation of the *Marigold* from us."

John Cooke :

"The vi September* we entered the Sawthe sea where in all our beyng we never found but contrary winds and extreme tempests and boysterous weather. The last of September we lost the *Marygolde*...."

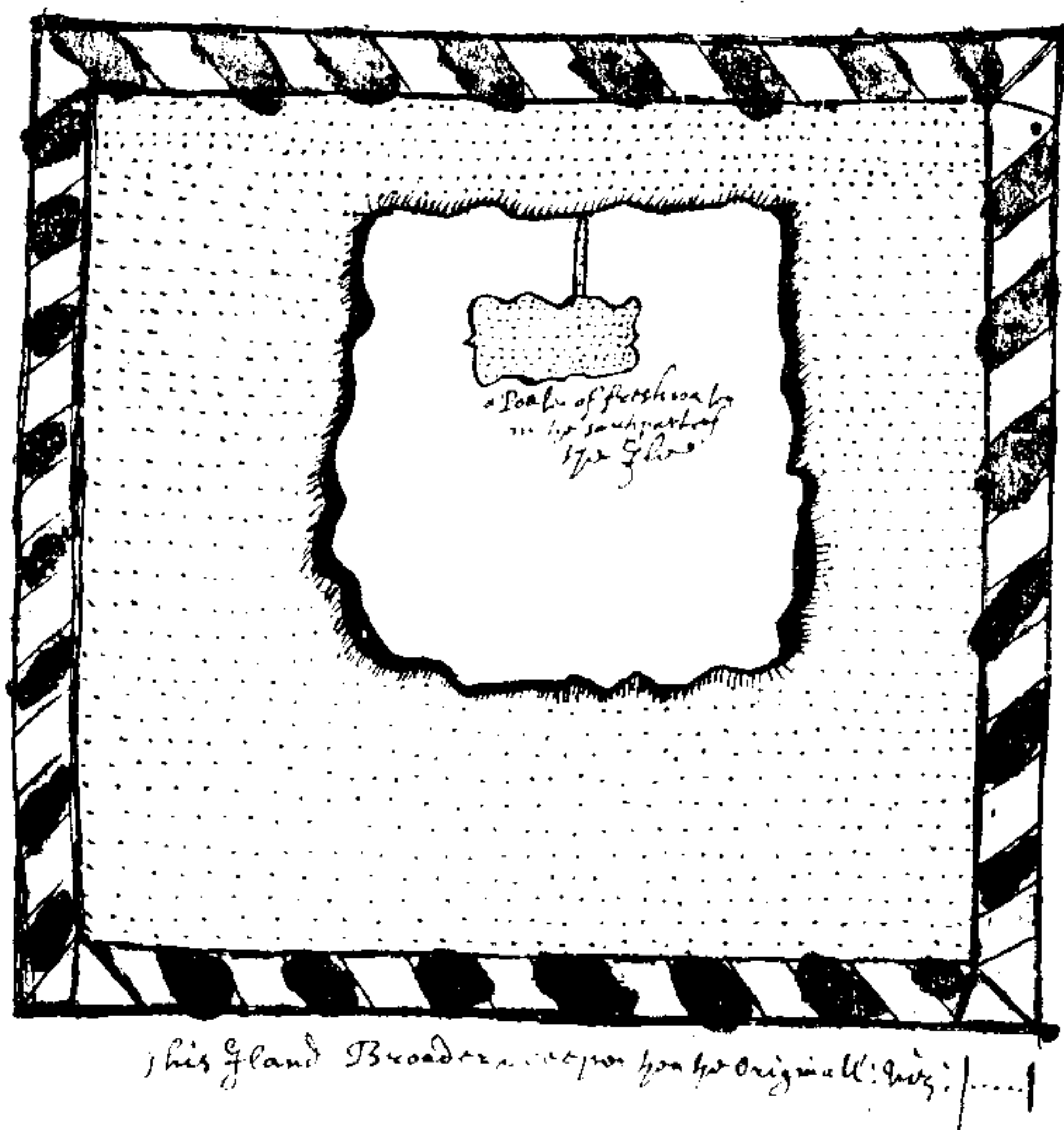
Edward Cliffe :

"September 6th * passed by Cape Deseado into the South Sea.

15th...The moone eclipsed...after sunset....

The last of September being a very foule night...we lost the *Marigold*...."

The Description of Elizabeth Land



FRANCIS FLETCHER'S ENLARGED AND DESCRIPTIVE DRAWING
OF ELIZABETH ISLAND.

Photograph of the copy contained in the Sloane MS. No. 61, British Museum.

for one hour in 40 fathoms of water. The Elisabeth did not anchor. They came close to the coast.

8th*. In the morning we did not see the Elisabeth.

13th. At midnight we neared the coast.

14th. Came to anchor in $54\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, three leagues from the land, in 50 fathoms.

15th. Set sail and came to anchor among some islands.

16th. Landed and got a little water.

17th. Forced by the wind to set sail.

18th. Came to anchor amongst some islands and landing with difficulty, obtained water and wood, and parleyed with the natives.

23rd. Set sail, because the cable parted.

24th. Came to anchor off an island in 57 degrees¹.

25th. This day we went ashore.

26th. We procured wood.

27th. Went ashore.

28th. We set sail.

29th. Sailed northwards

30th. Landed and brought back many birds and "sea-wolves."

31st. Landed and brought back the same².

¹ The pilot's testimony agrees exactly with that of Edward Cliffe who, without giving dates, relates that they "were driven 57 deg. to the South Pole" (Vaux, Appendix IV, p. 280).

Fletcher states that being driven into 55 deg. they ran in among islands lying to the southward of America, through which they passed from one sea to another (Vaux, pp. 81, 84). See also "Observations of Richard Hawkins," Hakluyt Soc., vol. lvii, p. 224.

² Francis Fletcher:

"October 7th*. On this day, towards night we entred a harbor.....within a few houres after our comming to anchor our Admirall left not only one anchor behind her, through the violence of the storm,

Edward Cliffe:

"October. The 7 of October*...we had sight...of shore...falling into a very dangerous bay...and there we lost company of M. Drake the same night."

NOVEMBER

- 1st*. On the first day we set sail.
- 2nd. To the north-west.
- 3rd. In the same direction.
- 4th. The same direction.
- 5th. Sailed to the north-east.
- 6th. The same.
- 7th. Headed out to sea.
- 8th. Went forward towards the north-west.
- 9th. The same.
- 10th. The same.
- 11th. The same.
- 12th. Went along tacking.
- 13th. The same.

but in departing hence
lost the company and
the sight of the Elisa-
beth...

8*...[The Elisa-
beth] returned back
the same way by
which they came
forward.

28th. The tem-
pest lasted from Sept.
7 to Oct. 28th full 52
days...

Now as we were
fuller to the uttermost
part of these Ilands,
October 28 our trou-
bles did make an end,
the storm ceased.

30. After two
daies stay which we
made in and about
these Ilands, the 30
of October we set
saile shaping our
course right North-
West.

31...The next day
we chanced with two
Ilands" (*World En-*

John Cooke :

"October. The VIII
of October we lost the
Generall and put our
selves to harbour in
the streytes where we
rested until the I of
November and then
for our reterne, I
thinke oure Captayne,
Mastar Wynter, wyll
answar, who toke the
peryll on him."

on mulo + 1528

25^o de Outubro de 1528
26^o de Outubro de 1528
27^o de Outubro de 1528
28^o de Outubro de 1528
29^o de Outubro de 1528
30^o de Outubro de 1528
31^o de Outubro de 1528
1^o de Novembro de 1528
2^o de Novembro de 1528
3^o de Novembro de 1528
4^o de Novembro de 1528
5^o de Novembro de 1528
6^o de Novembro de 1528
7^o de Novembro de 1528
8^o de Novembro de 1528
9^o de Novembro de 1528
10^o de Novembro de 1528
11^o de Novembro de 1528
12^o de Novembro de 1528
13^o de Novembro de 1528
14^o de Novembro de 1528
15^o de Novembro de 1528
16^o de Novembro de 1528
17^o de Novembro de 1528
18^o de Novembro de 1528
19^o de Novembro de 1528

PAGE OF NUÑO DA SILVA'S LOG-BOOK,
with entries from October 25, to November 19, 1578.

- 14th. Sailed on a northerly course.
- 15th. The same course.
- 16th. The same course; observed the sun in $45\frac{1}{2}$ degrees.
- 17th. Northwards.
- 18th. The same.
- 19th. The same.
- 20th. The same course.
- 21st. The same.
- 22nd. The same.
- 23rd. The same.
- 24th. The same.

25th*. Came to anchor off an island in 39 degrees, where, on the same day, the Captain went ashore and parleyed with the natives who gave him two sheep.

26th*. Landed in the morning to obtain water; and sent two men ashore; and the Indians seized these and wounded ten others. One of the latter died. Thence we set sail¹.

DECEMBER

3rd. On the third day of this month we came to anchor off land in $32\frac{1}{2}$ degrees where he parleyed with the natives and they told him that there was a ship six leagues off.

¹ Francis Fletcher (the sole English authority who gives dates for the remainder of the voyage):

"November 1st*. Thence we continued our course still North-west.

25th*. At this Iland comming to anchor we found it to be a fruitfull place, well stored...with good things, such as sheepe...With these people our Generall thought it meet to have traffique for victuals and fresh water...

26th*, setting aland two men...who were set upon by these traitorous people and suddenly slaine...who...by shooting their arrows hurt and wounded every one of our men and...the General himself...the rest, being nine in the boate were deadly wounded...but God...did give speedy and wonderfull cure...The same day we set sayle from thence.

30th...Falling with a bay called Philip's bay in 32 deg. or thereabout we came to anchor."

6th. They took a vessel laden with timber and 1770 jars of wine.

7th. They began to plunder the houses on shore.

8th. Departed ; saw men on horseback.

9th. Sailed along the coast and sent ashore the Indian whose name was Felipe.

10th. Followed the same course.

11th. The same. Off land in 30 degrees near six islands.

12th. Came to anchor off land in 30 degrees where there are salt-pans.

13th. We went ashore, not having any water.

14th. Remained in the same place. Did not land for fear of the Indians.

15th. Set sail and travelled four leagues.

16th. Remained stationary.

17th. Sailed two leagues.

18th. Came to anchor, after sailing four leagues, opposite a good port.

19th*. In the morning they went to look for water and took two large pigs and many small ones. At two o'clock in the afternoon the natives gave battle and took one [English]man. We saw 250 men on horseback and as many on foot.

20th. Set sail.

21st. Went to an island and brought back many birds.

22nd. Came to anchor in a good harbour.

23rd. They unloaded the timber to build the pinnace.

24th. In the same port.

25th. The same. To-day is Christmas Day.

26th to 31st. The same¹.

Francis Fletcher :

December. "Our Generall—caused our Indian pilote to be landed in the place where he desired.

19th*. We entred a bay not far to the Southward of the towne of Cyppo in 29 deg. 30 m.—where, having landed 14 men...the Spaniards

JANUARY

1st. The same. [On the first day of this month we were in the same port. The "Senhor" made a great feast¹.]

2nd. The same. [Remained in the same port.]

3rd. The same. [They began to caulk the pinnace on Saturday morning.]

4th. The same. [This was Sunday. In the evening the "Senhor" went ashore to cut out the topsails, I went with him.]

5th. The same. [Monday. We stayed in the same port.]

6th. The same. [The feast of Kings². The boat went to the shore but they did not get out of her for fear of meeting warlike natives; they saw some.]

7th. The same. [We remained in the same port. In the morning we saw six Indian spies. At night we saw Spaniards who shot two arquebuses at us.]

8th. The same. [I observed the sun and found we were in $29\frac{1}{6}$ degrees. Thursday.]

9th. Launched the pinnace. [Friday. In the afternoon launched the pinnace; for she had been built on shore.]

10th. The same. At night they departed in the pinnace and went southwards. [Saturday. Set to work at midnight, for on Saturday the "Senhor" left in the pinnace and went southwards³.]

...speedily made out 300 men at least, whereof 100 were Spaniards—mounted—the rest were Indians...

20th. Fell with a more convenient harbour in 27 deg. 55 m. S.

...In this place we spent some time building our pinnace..." (*World Encompassed*).

¹ The text in brackets is that of the sole fragment extant, consisting of two pages only, of a more complete log-book kept by the Portuguese pilot, and of which he seems to have regained possession when his account-book was returned to him. In this he designates Drake as he "Senhor."

² Twelfth Night.

³ Francis Fletcher: "Our Generall...leaving his ship...at anchor

11th. The same. [Sunday. They threw away much ballast to get at the guns which were in the hold.]

12th. The same. They returned, having gone twenty leagues and not being able to proceed because natives came from the shore¹. [Monday. We got the guns out and in the evening the general arrived by a strong south-west wind.]

13th. They made deck-room for the wine they had taken and threw away six pipes of tar. [They made room for the wine they had taken and threw away six pipes of tar. Tuesday.]

14th. They greased the ship. [We careened the ship and greased her sides with grease, brimstone and tar. Wednesday².]

15th. Did the same.

16th. Did the same to the deck.

17th. Began on the bottom.

18th. Continued.

19th*. Set sail for the North. Monday.

20th. Becalmed.

21st. Cast anchor, [having] set sail in the morning.

22nd*. Came to anchor, off an island where four Indians were found.

23rd. Set sail.

24th. Went along the coast.

25th. Followed the same course³.

in the bay with his pinnace and some chosen men, intended to return back southwards again to see...if he could find...his friends...he was forced to returne againe...the winde being contrary to his purpose" (*World Encompassed*).

¹ "...After one daies sayling, the winde being contrary to his purpose, he was forced, whether he would or no, to returne againe." Francis Fletcher (*World Encompassed*)."

² End of the fragment of the more complete log-book which is lost.

³ Francis Fletcher :

"January 19th*. We set sayle from hence.

22nd*. we fell with an lland standing in the same height with

FEBRUARY

1st. The first day of February was Sunday. We sailed along the coast.

2nd. Monday. In the morning we took a fishing-boat.

3rd. Tuesday. We sailed that night. Sent the fishing-boat ashore.

4th. We took another, from which three thousand ducats were taken.

5th. We went along the coast.

6th. We cast anchor in a port where we took two small ships. One had 37 bars of silver; the other had 300 jars of Spanish wine, oil and much wax.

7th. Which was Saturday; they set fire, not by order of the "Senhor," to a ship with [a cargo of] wax and 100 jars of wine.

8th. Which was Sunday, we came along the coast after the pinnace had set out for a port where there was a ship and by two hours we missed taking 500 bars of silver.

9th. Took the ship, with nothing more than two pipes of water. The same day at vesper-time we reached the big ship, with foresail and mainsail set, close to the shore, with nought else than 600 jars of wine.

10th. Tuesday. We found another vessel with nothing. On the same day we took another ship with 200 jars of wine.

11th. Wednesday. We went along the coast with wind from the poop.

the north cape of the province of Mormorena...we found four Indians with their canoes...sailed along continually searching for water.

26th. Cast anchor...in 22 degrees 30 minutes off Mormorena."

12th. Thursday. We went along the coast.

13th. Friday. Went along the coast. In the evening we came to an island called San Guallam¹ that has in its centre a mountain like a sugar-loaf and lies 30 leagues north-east of Lima.

14th. Which was Saturday; we went along the coast.

15th*. Which was Sunday; in the morning we took a ship and released her at once, taking two men from her.

On the same day, at night, we entered the port of Callao de Lima and found 14 ships with nothing in them. They cut their cables and took a ship that arrived from Panama and they killed one man; then we sailed away with the ship².

16th*. We released the ship with four men and four negroes and on the same day two ships came after us.

17th. Tuesday. We went along the coast.

18th. Wednesday. The same. The land very high.

19th. Thursday. Followed the same course.

20th. Went the same way. In the morning took a ship bound for Lima.

26th. We took a ship which was bound for Panama, with 40 bars. We released this ship on the first of March³.

¹ Situated opposite to the port of Sangallan.

² A close examination of the original document reveals that Nuño da Silva first wrote the number 3 after the word *mataram* = "killed." Later on the number 1 was interpolated, possibly as a rectification. Although this interpolation may also be interpreted as an attempt to record the number 13, there exists no evidence to support an assertion that thirteen men were killed at Callao. On the other hand Nuño da Silva himself states in his depositions given at Guatulco that one Englishman was killed at Callao, but does not mention the death of a single Spaniard in his other accounts of the voyage. Nor is such an accusation made against Drake in any of the depositions and official reports written at Callao immediately after his departure (see Part III, p. 89). For the origin of the false report see p. 153.

³ Francis Fletcher: "Arica, standing in 20 degrees, whither we arrived the 7th of February.

9th...we fell...in with Chowley⁴.

⁴ Chule, see note 1, p. 69.

MARCH

1st*. On the first of March we took the ship "cagua fogo¹." We released this ship on the fifth day at night

5th. On the fifth day, at night, bound for Nombre de Dios, at cape of San Francisco.

15th. We sighted land.

16th*. We entered harbour and took in water.

18th. Came to anchor; careened and took in water.

24th*. We set sail. On the second day seized a ship and took her along.

30th. We went along the coast of New Spain. 12 degrees.

31st. The same².

APRIL

1st. The first day of the month of April, which was Wednesday; we went along the coast.

2nd. The same course, off land in $13\frac{1}{3}$ degrees. Thursday.

3rd. The same course. We sighted a vessel out at sea.

15th*...arrived at Lima...

16th*...in the morning...we set sayle...

20th...fell with the port of Païta in 4 degrees 40 minutes...

24th...fell with...the river and the port of Guayaguil...

28th...passed the line...

¹ This Portuguese name reappears as "Cacafoga" in the anonymous "discourse" (Vaux, p. 182). Fletcher and English authorities render the Spanish "Çacafuego" (antiquated form of "Sacafuego") as "Cacafuego" (see note 1, p. 165).

² Francis Fletcher. 1st*. The first of March we fell with the Cape Francisco...and took...the Cacafuego...

7th. From this cape...we set onward, shaping our course towards the Iland of Canoes³.

16th*...fell with Iland...setting ourselves for certaine dayes in a fresh river betweene the maine and it...

24th*. From hence we parted the 24 daye of the month.

³ Caño.

4th. On the morning of the fourth day of April which is the eve of Passion Sunday, they took her; in her there was a nobleman named Don Francisco de "llara"¹ a cousin of the Duke of Medina.

5th. The same course. This same day, with the foresail set we——².

6th. [Entry illegible. See photograph of original.]

7th. The same course.

8th—12th. [Inclusive. No entries.]

13th. On this thirteenth day we came to anchor in a port where they seized a ship.

14th. [No entry³.]

¹ i.e. Zarate.

² The exceptional circumstance that the pilot made three unsuccessful attempts to write the last word of this entry and that, notwithstanding these efforts the word and the next entry remain illegible, seems to indicate his being in a state of unusual excitement, possibly in anticipation of his release a week later, at Guatulco. "Be it remembered that at Agwatulco Drake left his Portugall pilate on land,...the poor man very unwilling to have bin lefft to ye Spaniard for a praye...who was taken by the Spaniards and caryed to Mexico, where he was racked to make him confess, and from Mexico he was conveyed into Spayne in the indias flette in anno 1582....Extract from Memoranda, in Harl. MS. 280, fol. 81, published by Vaux, Appendix II, p. 175.

³ Francis Fletcher. "On April 15, in 15 deg. 40 min. we chanced with...Guatulco...and having reasonably...provided ourselves we departed from the Coast of America for the present" (*World Encompassed*).

See note, p. 329, in which the collective English accounts of the Guatulco episode are discussed.

8 2 1/2
9 2 1/2
10 2 1/2
11 2 1/2
12 2 1/2

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Ser. II Vol. XXXIV.

VIII
DOCUMENTS PERTAINING

TO THE
TRIAL FOR HERESY OF NUÑO DA SILVA,
PORTUGUESE PILOT, BY THE INQUISITION
OF MEXICO¹

SWORN DEPOSITION III OF THE PORTUGUESE PILOT
NUÑO DA SILVA, GIVEN ON MAY 23RD, 1579, BEFORE
THE TRIBUNAL OF THE INQUISITION OF MEXICO,
IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS ARREST.

NOTE.

The original of this Deposition of Nuño da Silva in the handwriting of the Inquisitor Bonilla, is preserved in the National Archives, City of Mexico, in a bound volume on the back of which the following is printed:

Inquisition. Volume 85. Correspondence. Part 17. XVI Cent. General Archives. "Indiferente" (i.e. miscellaneous).

A photograph of the first page of this document on which Drake's name occurs is reproduced on Plate XI.

A more carefully written, though shorter version, of the above original, which contains further valuable details, was sent to the

¹ The originals of this and of the following documents are preserved in the National Archives, City of Mexico, where I found them several years ago, scattered through a number of then uncatalogued volumes of Inquisition papers, in some cases bound by mistake (in one case upside down) in sets of papers relating to other trials. A "Relacion," compiled from document 6, was sent to Spain and a copy of this exists in the *Colección de Manuscritos*, tome xxi, No. 8.

Council of the Inquisition in Spain. It is preserved at Simancas in a bound volume containing "Cartas del Consejo de su Magestad de la Santa General Inquisicion, 1580" (lib. DCCLXII, fol. 4).

On its outer page is the following memorandum which appears to refer to a still more detailed deposition or descriptive relation by the pilot, or, possibly, to a copy of the preceding document.

"To the Lords Inquisitors.

Another document that came with this, dated September 16, contained the confession of Nuño da Silva, pilot, who accompanied Francis Drake, Englishman, with the description of the Strait of Magellan. It was given to the illustrious Lord Cardinal on April 11th, 1580, to forward to the King.

This is a summary of the said confession.

Both were acknowledged, April 19th, 1580."

I have carefully collated the text of the original in Mexico, from which the following translation is made, with the version at Simancas, and publish, in brackets, all the variants that appear in the latter.

I

DEPOSITION BY NUÑO DA SILVA AS TO HOW HE WAS
MADE PRISONER BY ENGLISH PIRATES ON HIS VOYAGE
FROM OPORTO TO BRAZIL.

NUÑO DA SILVA.

SUMMARY OF THE CONFESSION OF THE PILOT:

23RD OF MAY, 1579.

SUMMARY OF THE VOYAGE OF THE CORSAIR.

Nuño da Silva, Portuguese pilot, married, citizen of the town of Gaia, in the district of the city of Oporto, and a native of Lisbon, son of Alvaro Joanez, seaman, and of Joan da Silva, his wife, was brought up by the latter until he had reached the age of eight years, after which his uncle Adan Fernandez, a pilot, took him to Brazil. The deponent remained in his uncle's company and made

2
parte y terreno de la armada

[illegible]

on which the name Francis Drake (fran^{co} drac) occurs for the first time in the middle of top line

Photograph of original preserved in the National Archives, City of the Mexico.

voyages in vessels belonging to the Armada of the King of Portugal until he reached the age of twenty years, when his uncle died. The deponent continued to navigate between Portugal and Brazil, first as a sailor, then as a pilot, and finally as captain and pilot combined, of merchant vessels. In the month of November of the past year of 1577, he sailed from the said city of Oporto as pilot of a vessel bound for the Island of La Palma to fetch a cargo of wines destined for Brazil. Having loaded his ship he continued his voyage to Cape Verde Island; and, as he was about to enter the port to fetch water, an English Corsair with six ships of his company and one which he had taken, and which he afterwards abandoned, sallied forth to meet him and seized his vessel [on the 20th of January, 1578]. Taking the deponent's ship and all her crew to the Island Brava, twelve leagues distant from Cape Verde, the Corsair landed the men there but kept with him the vessel laden with wine and other merchandise, leaving the deponent on board with forty or fifty Englishmen.

Navigating towards Brazil and reaching its coast in a latitude of 13 degs. the Corsair did not dare take water for fear of the galleys which are usually there, and therefore waited until reaching the river of La Plata which is in 35 degs. He entered its mouth with all his ships for a distance of twenty-five leagues and, after taking water, came out again and navigated until he attained 39 degs. of latitude. He then collected all his men in five ships and ran the other two, which were the smallest, ashore. With his five ships he coasted close to land, keeping it on the starboard and taking soundings whenever he came across low land. The ship on which this pilot sailed was separated from the others by a storm for a period of thirty-six days, at the end of which time she met the others at about five or six leagues from a port which, in the Portuguese tongue, is

called "Abra das Ilhas," in a latitude of 49 degs. All the ships, being thus reunited, went to seek the port and found it on June 20th, 1578. There, out of fear of the Indians, they anchored at a small, sandy island, near the main land, tarred the three vessels from top to bottom and broke up the other two so that the men could use them as fuel to cook their food and warm themselves, the country being extremely cold.

On the 17th of August, having transferred deponent to his flagship, i.e. the *Capitana*, the Corsair departed thence, and, keeping land to the right, reached the mouth of the Strait of Magellan, in 52 degs. and waited outside at a distance of a league and a half, for three days, with contrary winds.

On the 24th he entered the mouth of the Strait and navigated in it until Saturday, September 6th, when he, with all of his three ships, passed out of its mouth into the South Sea. On the 28th of September the smallest of the three ships disappeared in a storm, and on the 8th of October the other one also disappeared, and was never seen again. Thus the said Englishman, Francis Drake, was left with only his *Capitana* during the time when he coasted southwards, keeping the land to the left until he reached 57 degs. of latitude south, at which point he entered some ports. He saw people or signs of them in all these ports, although none of the inhabitants came out on account of the extreme cold. Returning northward with a favourable south wind, he came straight to the coast of Chile on which he anchored six leagues beyond the city or port of Santiago, to which he then returned. With a vessel which he captured in this port he went coasting along the shore until he reached the latitude of 30 or 31 degs. which was the point at which, according to previous agreement, his ships were to seek each other in case they had lost sight of one another.

Coasting along the shore of Chile, he took water in

uninhabited and deserted ports and in one of these he remained for many days. There he careened his ship and built a pinnace with timber which he had brought from his country, all worked and fitted. Then he launched this pinnace with 16 men and at the bow placed a small bronze cannon of the kind which is loaded from the muzzle

With this pinnace and the two vessels he went along the coast of Chile, keeping so close to the shore that any person walking on land could be distinctly seen from the ships. He landed in several places and took water, cast anchor in the port of Arica, and, passing on to a port further on, seized another empty ship which contained only three pipes of water. Having turned this ship adrift, as well as the others which he had taken, he remained with only his *Capitana* and the pinnace and, of all the men he had taken prisoners, he kept only two men and a negro. He continued his voyage along the coast as far as Callao de Lima, which he entered on the thirteenth of February of 1579 three hours after nightfall and remained for about two hours¹. On the following day in the morning, he saw, at his stern, a small sail-boat and realised that she was a spy, and at ten or eleven o'clock of the forenoon he saw, also astern, two large vessels and comprehended that they were in pursuit of him. He then set loose the ship which had arrived at Lima, from Panama, and had anchored alongside of him, and released all the prisoners he was bringing with him, retaining only a negro and a Fleming whom he had made prisoner in the said port of Arica and was taking with him as a pilot of that coast. Collecting his men, he put the boat into his vessel and, accompanied by his pinnace, set all the sail he could and took flight in great fear. And when the said two great vessels saw the ship from Panama [which the Englishman had released]

¹ Compare Pedro de Sarmiento's Relation, p. 59.

coming ashore they went towards her and were lost to his sight and he never saw them again. He continued his voyage in sight of land and, at a distance of five or six leagues, he entered some ports seizing the vessels he found in them. On the 6th of March after plundering the "Nao Rica," he released her with the men he had carried off with him as prisoners¹.

He continued his voyage, with this pilot Nuño da Silva, to the coast of Nicaragua and, on the 23rd, came in sight of land and anchored near an island named "of Pines" where he remained for ten or twelve days, cleaning, caulking and careening his ship.

He took in water and firewood and then set sail with a frigate which he seized there. A few days later he gave his pinnace to the frigate's crew and let them go. Continuing his voyage along the coast of Nicaragua, on the fourth of April, before dawn, he seized and plundered another vessel which, with full cargo, was bound from New Spain to Peru². Letting her go her way, the Englishman pursued his course along the coast of this New Spain until Monday, the 13th of April, when he entered, at noon, the port of Guatulco [of the bishopric of Oaxaca]. Having plundered it, profaned the church, and provided himself with the necessary bread, water and fuel, he departed with his *Capitana* and the frigate, at midnight, on Thursday, the 16th, leaving ashore the said Portuguese pilot Nuño da Silva, whom he had carried with him until then.

¹ The depositions of these and the other men who were subsequently released are given in Part III, p. 89.

² Francisco de Zarate's ship.

THE CREW AND STRENGTH OF HIS FLEET¹.

This Englishman calls himself Francis Drake and is a man aged 38. He may be two years more or less. He is low in stature, thick-set and very robust. He has a fine countenance, is ruddy of complexion and has a fair beard². He has the mark of an arrow-wound in his right cheek which is not apparent if one does not look with special care³. In one leg he has the ball of an arquebuse that was shot at him in the Indies. He is [a great mariner], the son and relative of seamen, and particularly of John Hawkins in whose company he was for a long time. He has with him a brother named Thomas Drake who served as a sailor, like any one of the crew. Thomas Drake is twenty-two years of age, has a fair complexion and a scanty beard, which is fair. He is low of stature but is broad-shouldered and sturdy. He is a good seaman⁴. Francis Drake took with him from England, all told, 270 men⁵, amongst whom there were some of whom he made more account and had seated at his table, namely, the captain, pilot and doctor. He also read the psalms and preached.

¹ On this page of the original, as may be seen in its photograph (Pl. XI), there are two marginal notes which read as follows :

"a. He carried the book of the discovery by Magellan.
b. Twenty-five kegs of water."

Besides these, in the upper left-hand corner, are the words "negros cimmarones" which were subsequently struck out by the writer who thus corrected his mistake.

² Spanish text : "baxo de cuerpo, doblado, muy membrudo, de buen rostro, barviruvio, vermejazo."

³ "The General himself was shot in the face, under his right eye, and close by his nose, the arrow piercing a marvellous way in under *basis cerebri*, with no small danger of his life ; besides that, he was grievously wounded in the head." *World Encompassed*, Vaux, p. 98.

Cf. Sarmiento, p. 65.

⁴ "Thomas Drake was the youngest brother of Francis and survived him, becoming the heir to the bulk of his considerable property including the manor of Buckland Monachorum, which estate still belongs to his lineal descendants."

⁵ Evidently Bonilla's error ; da Silva must have said 170 men. See Part XIII, Note.

Many of his men died [at Abra de Islas and...] in passing the Strait. On leaving the port of Guatulco he had with him a crew of not more than eighty persons, of whom eight were boys. He took 25 kegs of water from Guatulco.

[He also carried with him, from his country, a negro, named Diego, who spoke Spanish and English, and whom he had taken prisoner from a frigate in the North Sea, near Nombre de Dios, about seven or eight years previously. From this negro deponent understood that a brother of this Corsair had been in Panama with the wild rebellious runaway negro slaves, one of whom he [Francis Drake] took prisoner in the South Sea, as well as a negress. From Guatulco he took another negro and all the above are with him.]

The *Capitana* was the largest of all and was of about 220 tons¹. Of the two which disappeared after the passage of the Strait the larger was of 150 and the smaller of 50 tons and both are held to be lost². The *Capitana* is in a great measure stout and strong. She has two sheathings, one as perfectly finished as the other. She is fit for warfare and is a ship of the French pattern, well fitted out and finished with very good masts, tackle and double sails. She is a good sailer and the rudder governs her well. She is not new, nor is she coppered nor ballasted. She has seven armed port-holes on each side, and inside she carries eighteen pieces of artillery, thirteen being of bronze and the rest of cast iron, also an abundance of all sorts of ammunition of war, for none had been expended³.

¹ This, the flagship, was the "Pelican," afterwards rechristened "The Golden Hind," which was of 100 tons English.

² These were the second ship, the "Elizabeth," 80 tons, which returned to England by the Strait of Magellan, and the "Marigold," 30 tons, which was lost.

³ "todo genero de municion de guerra en abundancia que no avia gastado cosa alguna."

He also carried workmen and a forge for making nails, spikes and bolts. This vessel is water-fast when she is navigated with the wind astern and this is not violent, but when the sea is high, as she has to labour, she leaks not a little whether sailing before the wind or with the bowlines hauled out. Taking it all in all, she is a ship which is in a fit condition to make a couple of voyages from Portugal to Brazil.

He took from Guatulco 25 kegs of water, besides some filled earthen jugs, many chests full of the flour, which he had seized on the coast of Peru, and some barrels of flour from his own country; besides another keg of flour and one hundred leather-covered boxes of biscuit; also a quantity of maize. Of meat and fish he carried very little, not more than for thirty days' provision, also some oil [and four kegs of wine]. After fifty days he will be forced to get a fresh supply of water, for he did not take more than 25 kegs of the same from Guatulco.

Francis Drake carried with him three books on navigation. One of these was in French, another in English. The third was Magellan's *Discovery*; in what language this was, deponent knoweth not. Francis Drake kept a book in which he entered his navigation and in which he delineated birds, trees and sea-lions¹. He is an adept in painting and has with him a boy, a relative of his², who is a great painter. When they both shut themselves up in his cabin they were always painting.

¹ Nuño da Silva's testimony confirms the following statement made by the Spanish Ambassador Bernardino de Mendoza, in his letter to King Philip II, dated October 16th, 1580, preserved in the British Museum: "Drake has given the Queen a diary of everything that happened to him during the three years he was away." It was probably the Patagonian sea-lion, a strange new species to him, that Drake attempted to depict in his book.

² John Drake, his youthful cousin.

THE ROBBERIES HE COMMITTED.

At Cape Verde he seized the vessel of this Portuguese pilot. At that time he had with him another captured ship. [From Cape Verde where he had seized this pilot until the port of Santiago de Chile he did not meet another vessel.] At the port of Santiago de Chile he entered and took the ship of Master John Griego, a large vessel in which, counting sailors, Spaniards and negroes, there were 15 or 16 persons. Master John Griego declared that his vessel contained 1700 earthen jugs of wine and some gold, and that all the remainder of the cargo consisted of wood. He landed, and entered the houses, and took what was therein and, from the church, he took the bell, the chalice, damask vestments, a missal, and immediately destroyed them. He set ashore all of the crew, excepting John Griego, whom the Englishman took on his own ship.

He landed on the same coast of Chile and seized the persons of two Spaniards. One of them, who was a native of Corsica, declared that he had been robbed of three thousand pesos.

In the port of Arica he seized two small ships, one of them loaded with Spanish merchandise, being without her crew, which was on land, and the other empty, with a few men only. In this he found, however, 37 bars of silver¹. Having plundered the laden ship of all he wanted, he set fire to her, and went out with the other ships to look for another vessel in a port further on, having had news that he would find in her 800 bars of silver belonging to the King of Spain. Although the Captain [Englishman] went ahead in the pinnace and used oars and sail, he found the vessel already emptied. He learned that, having received

¹ "...some forty and odde barres of silver (of the bignesse and fashion of a brick-batte, and in waight each of them 20 pounds)." Vaux, p. 107.

warning, the silver had been landed two hours previously, and the people on shore shouted at him, saying "Go, you thief!" and jeered at him, saying "that he had lost the prize by two hours!"

He took the said empty vessel out to sea, and, hoisting her sails, set her adrift without any crew, as he had done with the other ships which he had captured.

Six or seven leagues before entering the port of Callao de Lima he met three frigates. As two of these were close to the shore he did not approach them, so as not to attract notice. The other was out in the open sea, and from this, without doing any further damage, he took two men—one of them the ship's owner and the other a sailor from the *Levant*.

On the 13th of February, at three o'clock at night, he entered into the port of Callao de Lima on a search for [seven hundred] bars of silver which, according to information given by one of the aforesaid prisoners, had been brought down from Lima to be taken to Panama. With this object in view he left his ship at anchor and, with the boat and pinnace, searched all the ships in port and, not finding the silver, cut their cables and chopped the masts of two large vessels so that they could not bear sails¹. [After this he left, not having been in port more than two hours.]

At this time a vessel from Panama entered the port, and, recognising the Englishman, took flight to the open sea, where her crew abandoned her and went ashore in her boat. The Englishman seized her. I [Nuño da Silva] do not know how many days later it was that he made prisoner the pilot of a frigate bound for Lima with native

¹ The disabling of these vessels is described by John Drake as being a part of Francis Drake's bold, but unsuccessful attempt to obtain the release of his old comrade Captain John Oxenham whom he knew to be imprisoned in Lima (see p. 47).

products, because he had not been able to get any news of a vessel laden with silver for which he was looking.

A few days afterwards he entered the port "de Españoles¹," a good port, seized a frigate laden with Castilian merchandise, and, abandoning her, took with him only the pilot, an old man. There he obtained news that the pilot of whom he was in search had departed from there two days previously².

During that night he took a ship which he had espied by daytime, and which was bound for Lima, laden with a cargo of Spanish clothing. From this ship he only took a negro.

I do not remember how many days it was after that, that he met another vessel bound for Panama, laden with cables and tackle³ destined for the King of Spain [fish], and other victuals. From this he took as much as he wanted, besides 40 bars of silver and some gold. On this ship they hanged a half-breed negro boy for not giving up some small bars of gold which it was said that he had taken⁴.

After this he let the ship drive without retaining her pilot or any other member of her crew.

On the first of March, 1579, after noon, he saw in open sea the said "Nao Rica" [rich vessel], which he was pursuing⁵. He captured her, and two days later, plundered her, carrying to his ship much silver and gold and fourteen chests of silver. According to her captain⁶ this vessel was carrying 1300 bars of silver and some gold. On the 6th of March he released the said vessel. At the Island of

¹ Payta.

² Cf. Sarmiento, p. 71.

³ Sp. *xarcia* = *jarcia*.

⁴ See John Drake's more explicit account of this episode, p. 266. See also the "hanging" of the pilot Colchero as a means of coercion according to the usage of the period (p. 196).

⁵ See note 1, p. 165.

⁶ San Juan de Anton, whose deposition see on p. 155.

Pine-trees¹, off the coast of Nicaragua, he seized a frigate which was bound for Panama, laden with maize, honey, lard, and sarsaparilla. He sent her crew ashore in his pinnace² and retained possession of the frigate with her pilot, named Colchero, who was a pilot of the route to China, and had been sent to Panama by the Viceroy of New Spain.

[Colchero was on his way thither, with several sea-charts of importance concerning the navigation, as well as some dispatches from the Viceroy and His Majesty for the Governor residing in the Philippines. Francis Drake valued these much and said he would take them to his Queen. He carried this pilot Colchero with him from March 13th, when he took him prisoner, until April 4th, and discussed and consulted with him about matters concerning navigation. He released him in a ship which was carrying a cargo from New Spain to Peru, and which he plundered of provisions and bales of clothing. Arriving at the port of Guatulco he, and the forty men he landed, plundered the church, robbing its bell, vestments, two chalices, a monstrance, and silver lamp. He carried these to his ship, also money, clothing, and biscuit, and seized the vicar.]

On the way from Nicaragua to New Spain he seized and plundered another ship in which Don Francisco de Zarate was travelling. From him he took a negress, provisions, some bales of stuff and three empty kegs for water, and then released him (Francisco de Zarate), as well as the pilot Colchero, whom he let go in this said ship³.

¹ In the Spanish originals of this and the Simancas MS., this island is named "de Pinos" = of pine-trees. In other Spanish documents the name of Caño is given, which is rendered by Cano or Canoes in the English versions. See p. 293.

² See depositions of some of the men who were sent ashore, Part IV, pp. 146 et seq.

³ See depositions of Francisco de Zarate, p. 201, and of Colchero, p. 193.

In the said port of Guatulco he landed forty or fifty men who plundered the town, seized the bell of the church, and carried off to the ship money, clothes, biscuits, hens, pork, the church supplies, the frontal ornaments of the altar, the canopy, two chalices, a silver reliquary, a silver lamp and another reliquary. He captured the priest, a vicar, and two laymen, but, after having provided himself with water, he released them. From a ship which was in the said port of Guatulco he took all he wanted of Castilian and native stuffs and then cut the bowsprit and destroyed the main-topsails.

The first vessel that he seized after having taken this pilot prisoner, was in the port of Santiago de Chile, in the South Sea. This pilot had never seen him before¹.

On capturing vessels, the first things that he seized were the navigation charts, the astrolabes, compasses and needles, which he cast into the sea without making any use of them. In one particular instance he seized all the papers and dispatches which were being carried by Colchero, the said pilot of the Viceroy of New Spain. He prized these greatly and rejoiced over them, saying that he was going to take them to his native kingdom.

From this deponent the Englishman took his navigation chart (which did not include more of the Indies than the Rio de la Plata and the Cape of Good Hope); his astrolabe, his commissariat book², his chart of the coast of Brazil; also his merchandise and provisions, and immediately distributed them amongst the officers of his vessels. What is more, after taking the chart, which was in the Portuguese language, he had it translated into English³, and, as he

¹ In the Spanish original, this sentence forms a marginal note, disconnected from the text.

² "libro de regimiento."

³ As Spanish witnesses agree in stating that Nuño da Silva spoke English fluently no doubt it was he who made the translation for Drake.

navigated along the coast of Brazil, he went on verifying it, from 24 degs. to which the Portuguese charts reach, until the town which is called San Vicente. In point of fact, Francis Drake wrote down all he had learnt and had heard related concerning the routes of the Portuguese, to the Island of Cape Verde, the coast of Guinea, and Santa Maria and the Indies, as well as of the ports and the land and sea forces of the Portuguese Indies.

DESCRIPTION OF COUNTRIES AND NAVIGATION.

THE STRAIT *PER SE* AND THE RIO DE LA PLATA *PER SE*

RIO DE LA PLATA¹

The Rio de la Plata is in 35 degs., and the first land that was sighted off the shore of said river is in 30 degs. Until he reached 29 degs. he kept making soundings all along the coast, which is very low. The sea-depth varied from 25 and 20 to 8 and 10 fathoms at a distance of four or five leagues from the land. In some places, within one league of the coast, the sea was deeper.

The navigation from Spain to the Rio de la Plata offers no difficulties, if it is done at the proper time, which is the month of August. Leaving Seville at that time, one can arrive in a very good season and have time to return and reach Seville by the following August, after having spent three months in the Rio de la Plata, in the summer, which lasts there from September to February. At that season, many Indians from the neighbourhood and mountains resort to the mouth of the river to fish and make salt, and, as it is the hot season, there are no contrary winds, such as prevail in the other months when no vessels can remain in the river and no cables can withstand the strain. It therefore happened that, as the Englishman arrived there in

¹ This description of the River Plate and the next, of Abra de Islas do not exist in the Simancas MS.

April, he had only two days of good weather, and in Abra de Islas met with a very severe winter in June and July. When ships sail from Seville in January, it will take them a year and a half for the voyage to and fro, because from March to September there is no navigation and they will have to winter in the Bay of All Saints, which is the principal one of Brazil. After passing the coast of Brazil he continued to hug the shores of the Rio de la Plata so closely that the vessels passed between the main land and a small island¹ situated at a distance of two leagues. About three, four or perhaps more leagues behind the mouth of the river, there is a large island² situated at a distance of eight leagues, more or less, from the main land.

ABRA DE ISLAS.

It was in Abra de Islas that he saw most signs of habitation, because, morning and evening, at the foot of certain mountains, many fires were observed.

In Abra de Islas it snowed all the time, they saw the sun but a few times and had a very severe winter.

This name of Abra de Islas was written in a map which the Englishman carried with him, but he gave it another, and all named it Port San Julian³.

From Abra de Islas until they sailed into the South Sea, they did not see more Indians than the four whom they met in the Strait. The natives of Abra de Islas were very tall of stature, and when one looked at them from a distance of about a league, they seemed to be as tall as a man appears to be when seen passing down a street. They were clothed in skins. In Magellan's *Book of Discovery*

¹ Named Lobos.

² Named Flores.

³ "Este nombre de Abra de Islas traia el ingles escrito en una carta y el le puso otro nombre y todas lo llamavan puerto de San Julian."

he says that each native measured from 15 to 16 hand-breadths¹.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STRAIT OF MAGELLAN.

It is situated in 52 degs. of south latitude and its mouth, which is not more than a league in width, is at once discernible, and the land on both sides can be seen and recognised.

At the entrance of the Strait they remained, waiting for a favourable wind which they afterwards got from aft. Therefore this wind was good for passing through it. The sea-currents at that time were more or less from south to north or were still, not running in either direction. At the time when the weather became favourable for entering the Strait the current was running into it from north to south, but more strongly than if caused by the wind, and it would thus seem that the currents in the Strait are towards the inside. But no attention need be paid to these currents because, among seamen, a "good wind makes a good sea." Inside the same Strait, to the south, there are many small bays or coves in which one could stay and safely anchor, waiting for a favourable wind. To the north, also, there are good places, where one could be safe and sheltered from any kind of wind.

There is no port at the entrance, for all the coast is straight and wild. At about six or seven leagues inside the opening of the Strait into the South Sea, there are, at the right hand, or the north, many small islands where one could choose a port. To the south and about two leagues from the mouth of the Strait there are some very small low islands which do not appear to be larger than water-kegs.

¹ That Francis Drake carried with him copies of Magellan's voyage and chart is stated by da Silva on p. 303. See also p. 162.

Inside the Strait water and fuel are to be had and can be obtained wherever one wishes. There are also many sea-lions and edible molluscs but nothing besides.

Inside the Strait there were canoes manned by Indians who wore garments of animals' skins reaching to elbows and knees. Their heads were uncovered, their hair was long and they had no beards. The Englishman captured one canoe with four Indians, who were like those of New Spain.

No more Indians than these were seen, but it was evident that at the entrance to the Strait, to the right hand or the north, there were people, for the smoke of many fires was visible. Nought of this was visible to the south.

The total length of the Strait may be one hundred and ten leagues. At its entrance its mouth is a league wide, and then its widths are as follows: one, two and three, then two and a half, and two and three-quarter leagues, this last width being at the place where the land on both sides projects and seems to close the passage.

The narrowest part of the Strait is half a league wide, almost at its end, or ten or twelve leagues before reaching its opening into the South Sea, where it is wider. At the entrance of the Strait the land is low. From one half of its length to its disembogement the land runs very high and is, in some parts, rocky. There are high mountains thickly covered with snow and ice. The sides of the mountains are covered with very large trees, while their summits are covered with snow. The Englishman entered the Strait with a north-east to east-north-east wind which carried him half way. From there onward he had a constant north or north-north-west wind.

The entrance is very easy, so much so that even an unmanned ship could not miss it. The disembogement is more difficult because there the sea is very wide, and because

at each side it has many bays which appear to be mouths. One could miss the strait, especially as in order to find it one must keep coasting cautiously, for there are many islands amongst which one could lose himself. There were no shallows in the Strait, on the contrary there was great depth.

In the Strait there was better weather than at Abra de Islas for, if it rained, it was a heavy shower which was soon over.

Twenty-five leagues outside the Strait there are three small islands, all of which yield water, sea-lions, and a great multitude of birds, like ducks, which are very fat, and of good flavour, none of them tasting like fish. The smallest of these birds weighed ten or twelve pounds and some of them more.

Forty leagues from the mouth of the Strait the northern shore forms a point which projects far into the sea. At two-thirds of the length of the Strait there are three other islands, very small, which are not visible until you are actually passing them. Before reaching these islands there is a large bay to the south, the mouth of which holds a small island. Many vessels could, consequently, be in that bay without being seen by those who pass the Strait, and this is the best port in the whole of the Strait¹. It has a depth of 10 or 12 fathoms and would be a good careening-place as there is still water. Beyond these three islands it appears as though the Strait were closed by two points which project on either side. Two leagues further on, or ten or twelve leagues before the exit of the Strait, there is the narrowest part, half a league in width, and from thence there is open sea and no difficulty to encounter.

In some parts the Strait winds about, but after passing the two points which appear to join and close the Strait,

there is a clear and straight sailing to the exit.¹ Throughout the Strait its bottom is clear.

At the said narrows there are many trees on the northern and southern shores, the northern shore being the higher. Further on it is the southern shore that is the higher.

In case a fortification were to be built the most appropriate place would be in the said narrows, and on the southern shore which is the lower. All the country by the Strait appears to be suitable for settlements. It is well wooded and, in parts, the earth is reddish. The most fertile part is on the southern shore of the half-a-league-wide narrows. It even seemed as though the land were cultivated for about a league towards the interior. There is no island on which to build a fortification which could guard both shores.

¹If you know which are the favourable winds for sailing from the Strait for Chile you can also tell, pretty closely, which are the fair winds for returning from Chile to the Strait. The best season for the return seems to be August and September.

If the wind is a favourable land-wind or from the south-south-east or south-east, navigation should be close to the coast by whichever wind seems best, keeping land to the left until reaching the said very small, low islands, situated two leagues from the mouth of the Strait.

The same months of August and September are favourable for going through the Strait from the South to the North Sea with north-east or east-north-east wind, which was that which they encountered on their voyage. In case of calm or storm, the best place in which to wait or seek shelter would be inside the Strait in one of its many ports, none of which are bad.

¹ In the Simancas MS. the information which follows, with slight variations, is placed at the end of the "discourse about the return voyage."

Once out of the Strait in the North Sea, in order to make the voyage to Spain, one must go along the coast for thirty or forty leagues if the winds are from the stern or land. The route is practically free from danger until one reaches the latitude of 8 degs. Once in sight of Cape St Augustine in Brazil, at $8\frac{1}{2}$ degs., navigation is clear, either from thence to Spain, or to the Strait of Magellan, for there is nothing to do but to come or go along the coast and, in case of necessity, one can enter the Rio de la Plata, at 36 degs. From there to Brazil there are many settlements. The best time for navigation from the Strait to Brazil is from March onwards.

THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ENGLISHMAN PASSED
THROUGH THE STRAIT.

He wintered from June 20th, 1578, to August 17th, at Abra de Islas (which signifies "Bay of Islands"), on a low sandy island, two leagues distant from the mouth of the said bay. During all this time west winds prevailed, which were contrary for entering the Strait. As soon as a favorable north wind sprang up he departed, on August 17th, navigating along the coast to the south-south-east until he reached the mouth of the Strait. There, in a depth of 15 fathoms, he waited for three days, with contrary winds from west and west-north-west. The wind having turned to east-north-east he began to enter the Strait on the 24th of August and, reaching the group of three islands situated at fifteen leagues, all the three vessels anchored at the island furthest south, in a depth of from 15 to 20 fathoms. They remained there from noon of one day to the morning of the next, making a provision of sea-lions and ducks, of which they caught more than 2000, which made no noticeable difference in the apparent number, for there were so many. A few days after leaving the island he had to cast

anchor again, on account of contrary winds, returning to a cave beyond the point made by the northern shore. He remained there from the afternoon of one day to the morning of the next, when he sallied forth and spent two days, struggling with contrary winds, and then turned back and anchored, as I saw, at the other shore of the said point. On the following day he hoisted sail and, after some days came to anchor in the aforesaid large bay, the mouth of which is closed by the small island. Immediately, on the next day, he left this bay and went navigating through the Strait until he anchored in another cove on the south shore, between the islands, already described, which are not visible until they have been passed. Here he spied the two points which appear to close the Strait and he and his men were much perturbed, thinking that the mouth of the Strait was closed.

The said Englishman, in the boat, went southward to search for an exit, and, not finding it, came back to dine, very hurriedly¹, and sent his men, in the boat, to the north.

Having discovered that there was an opening there and that the aforesaid points did not meet, he passed the aforesaid three very small islands, then a bend in the said two points, and the other narrows of only half a league in width, and as he subsequently had the wind astern and an open sea, he passed out of the Strait without difficulty.

¹ This detail, about the hurried meal, is omitted in the Simancas MS.

DISCOURSE ABOUT THE RETURN TO ENGLAND AND THE
ORDERS FROM THE QUEEN.

HE PROCLAIMED THAT HE HAD COME BY ORDER OF
THE QUEEN¹.

He often told this deponent and some Spaniards he had taken prisoners, that he was bound to return by the Strait "de Bacallaos" [i.e. of Stockfish], which he had come to discover and that, failing to find an exit through the said strait, he was bound to return by China. This deponent believes the above statement to be true, because if he had had the intention of returning through the Strait of Magellan, by which he came, there would have been no necessity for him to have come to the coast of New Spain. Moreover, when half way through the Strait, he cut down, and had carried to his ship, the trunk of a tree which was 15 or 20 handbreadths wide and so thick that it took two men, less one cubit, to engird it. He ordered this trunk to be stored in the hold as ballast, saying that he was going to take it to the Queen of England as a sign that he had passed the Strait—which he would have no need to do until his return voyage if he had contemplated returning that way. He also said that he was obliged to be back in his country by August, 1579. He told all the prisoners he made in the South Sea after seizing the "Nao Rica," that he came in the service of the Queen, his Sovereign Lady, whose orders he carried and obeyed, and that he had

¹ "Publicava venir por orden de la Reyna." In the original in Mexico this sentence is followed by words the meaning of which is: "If he goes back to China he will not be able to reach England in her," which are struck out. The reference is probably to the ship's capacity for the prolonged sea-voyage and the pilot revoked his opinion after uttering it.

come for a greater purpose than that of seizing vessels¹. In Guatulco he took out a map and showed that he was bound to return by a strait that was situated in 66 degs. and that if he did not find it, he was to return by China. On the bronze cannon he carried in the pinnace, there was sculptured the globe of the world with a north star on it, passing over. He said that these were his arms and that the Queen had conferred them upon him, sending him to encompass the world².

Between Lima and Panama lies the Cape of San Francisco where he seized the "Nao Rica." From this cape to Chile he could take the same route as the Lima ships, that take to the open sea as far as the Islands of Solomon and from thence return to the coast of Chile, whence he could go on through the Strait of Magellan. This Francis Drake is well acquainted with this route, having learnt everything about it from all the pilots whom he captured, there being not a single thing about which he did not inform himself. If he had intended to return by the Strait of Magellan, there would have been no need of his passing from the Cape of San Francisco to New Spain.

The vessels bound from New Spain to Peru keep close to the shore and the Englishman will not take this route, because he left all the land in revolt against him and he would certainly not return to seek his enemies. He also

¹ "A todos los que prendio en la mar del Sur despues de robado la Nao Rica dezia que venia en servicio de la Reyna su Señora cujos papeles traia por donde se regio y que mas venia a otra cosa que a tomar nauios."

² "En la pieça de bronze que traia la lancha, traia sculpido un mundo redondo con un norte en el atravesado diziendo que eran sus armas y que la Reina se los avia dado mandandole que diese una vuelta al mundo." Cf. "There is still in possession of the Drake family a silver seal mounted in ivory and inscribed about the neck:

'The arms given unto Sir Francis Drake by the Queen's Mtie. for the voyage around the world, A.D. 1580.'

knew, from the pilots he had met, that, according to their united experience, if he took to the open sea, he would meet with many calms. If, in the South Sea, there prevailed the same winds as in the Spanish Sea, then he might, undoubtedly, be able to return by the Strait of Magellan but, as such is not the case, his return by the Strait would mean his seeking out his enemies. And he would surely not dare to take the open sea because of the information he possesses that he would meet with nothing but calms¹.

¹ As the Simancas MS. version of this last portion of the discourse differs from the above in style, form and length, its translation *in extenso* follows :

DISCOURSE BY THE PILOT ABOUT (DRAKE'S) RETURN
VOYAGE. (SIMANCAS MS.)

The Englishman proclaimed that he was bound to return by the Strait of the Stockfish which he had also come to explore, and that, by August, 1579, he must be back in his country.

While in the port of Guatulco, he produced a map and pointed out a strait situated in 66 degrees latitude north, saying that he had to go there, and that if he did not find an opening he would have to go back by China.

He proclaimed that he came by order of his Queen, and carried written orders from her, according to which he governed himself; that he had come for something more than for the seizing of vessels. On a bronze cannon he had the sculptured figure of a globe crossed by the north star and he said that these were the coat-of-arms that the Queen had given him, sending him to sail round the world.

When in the middle of the Strait, he cut down and placed in his vessel the trunk of a tree about 15 or 20 handbreadths and of a girth that could be surrounded by two men, less a cubit. He placed this in the hold as ballast, saying that he would take it to the Queen as a sign that he had passed through the Strait.

The pilot says that if at any time news is to be had of this Englishman, it will have to be from the Strait of Stockfish or from China. It does not seem to him probable that he would return by the Strait of Magellan, because the navigation from New Spain to Peru is performed by keeping close to the coast, which the Englishman would not do because he has left the whole country in a state of disturbance and he would not return to face his enemies. Nor would he dare to take to the open sea because he knows very well, through the numerous pilots whom he has had as prisoners, that according to their experience, he would meet with great calms. If it had been his intention to return by the way he came, he would not have had any necessity to pass by the coast of Peru and the Cape of San Francisco, where he robbed the "Nao Rica," to come to the coast of New Spain. From the

RELIGION.

The Englishman and those of his Armada are all Lutherans and they professed this sect on land and at sea, as will be seen in the records of the trial (*which this pilot*

said Cape (of San Francisco) he could have taken the route for Chile followed by the Lima ships, which is to sail out into the open sea until the Solomon islands are sighted, and from there direct his course to the mainland of Chile. This would have been the easiest route by which to reach the Strait of Magellan, and through all the pilots he had taken prisoner, he had become very well acquainted with this route—for there was nothing about which he did not seek information.

If he wished to return by the Strait of Magellan, being already acquainted with the winds that were favourable for the voyage from the Strait to Chile, he would know more or less which were the favourable winds for the return voyage, the best season for which would be in August and September. One would have to keep navigating along the coast whether the wind was from the land or, if it were favourable, i.e. from the south-south-east or south-east, according to whichever seemed best, keeping the land to the left hand until reaching the said low islets, that are two leagues from the mouth of the Strait, on its south side.

The islands on the north side of the mouth are to be avoided. They render the exit from the Strait somewhat more difficult on account of the danger of missing the mouth, the opening being wide, and because on each side there are many small bays which appear to be mouths.

At the same time, by keeping close to the coast of Chile and looking out for these islets, no mistake can be made. The same time of the year, August and September, seems to be good for passing out of the Strait, from South to North Sea, with the north-east or east-north-east wind which blows then. If this failed, or was very violent, the best place in which to wait and take shelter would be inside the said Strait itself, in the ports, of which one is better than another.

Once having passed out into the North Sea he could navigate to his country, according to the winds he would encounter. If the wind was from the poop or from land he would have to keep always at a distance of thirty or forty leagues from the coast which there is no need of reconnoitring until one reaches 8 degrees southern latitude. When the Cape of Saint Augustine, in Brazil, at $8\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, southern latitude, is sighted, the navigation is clear from there to Spain or for the Strait of Magellan, because one has nothing to do but to come or go along the coast.

A good season in which to navigate from the Strait to Brazil is from March onwards.

In case of necessity, one can take the River Plate, in 35 degrees, or one of the many Portuguese settlements in Brazil, situated respectively at 24, 20, 13 and 8 degrees southern latitude.

may presently have to undergo by the tribunal of the Inquisition) which it seemed expedient not to put with this relation or discourse¹.

2

COMMISSION SENT TO FRIAR ANDRES DE AGUIRRE BY
ORDER OF THE CHIEF INQUISITOR.

To Friar Andres de Aguirre.

Very Reverend Sir,

Your Reverence has already received notice of the cause of the detention, in this Holy Office, of Nuño de Silva, the Portuguese pilot who was, for so long a time, with Francis Drake, the Englishman and Lutheran, who went about committing robberies on the coast of the South Seas. We have received a report that this pilot joined the other English Lutherans in performing the rites and ceremonies of their sect. Information about this could be obtained from a certain Juan Pascual, a mariner, who is now in that port (Acapulco) and is about to sail for China by the first vessel. The Englishman took the said Pascual prisoner from Don Francisco de Zarate's ship and brought him to Guatulco, where he was landed. It is therefore expedient that he be examined under oath, in the presence of a notary and clerk, about what he saw and heard during those days, concerning what was or had been perpetrated on the Englishman's ship and during the course of his voyage, against our Holy Catholic Faith (such as is taught and preached by the Holy Mother Church of Rome), not

¹ In the original MS. in the National Archives of Mexico, the sentence in italics and in parenthesis, written by the Secretary of the Inquisition during the first interrogatory, was struck out by him later on when the pilot was formally accused of heresy and condemned to imprisonment and trial by the Holy Office. In the Simancas MS. the words: "records of the trial" are followed by the remark "which portion [i.e. about religion] it did not seem expedient to write out in the form of a narrative."

only by the said Lutheran Englishmen, but also by those whom they took prisoners on the way and carried with them. He is to be questioned about each one of the latter in particular, as to whether he saw or heard them doing anything of that kind, joining the Englishmen in their prayers, litanies or their communions or expressing by word or deed, approval of their mode of religious life.

Returning this letter, you are to send me the original testimony.

May our Lord keep you, etc.

Given in Mexico, February 9th, 1580.

At your Reverence's service,

BONILLA.

By order of the Chief Inquisitor.

PEDRO DE LOS RIOS,
Secretary.

3

REPORT TO THE INQUISITORS FROM FRIAR ANDRES DE AGUIRRE.

Received in the City of Mexico, on March 18th, 1580,
from Friar Andres de Aguirre.

This concerns Nuño da Silva and is to be filed with his papers, as it has already been incorporated in the records of his trial¹.

Very Illustrious Lord,

May the Holy Ghost be always in your Lordship's soul. In this port (Acapulco) I was given your Lordship's letter which I received as a great grace and gift....

¹ See note 1 on p. 295 about the original records of Nuño da Silva's trial.

With this I send, closed and sealed, the record of the examination of Juan Pascual, in accordance with the order communicated by your Lordship....

From this port, March 5th, 1580.

Your Illustrious Lordship's very unworthy
chaplain and servant,

FRIAR ANDRES AGUIRRE.

4

EXAMINATION OF JUAN PASCUAL, A PRISONER OF DRAKE.

In the port of Acapulco, of the South Sea, of this New Spain, on the fifth day of the month of March, of the year 1580, the illustrious and very reverend Friar Andres de Aguirre, of the order of the Lord Saint Augustine, in fulfilment of the foregoing commission, after having taken and received from me, Juan de Sagastiçan, His Majesty's clerk, an oath by our Lord God, by the sign of the cross, and the words of the Holy Four Gospels and charged me with the oath of secrecy about all that would be treated of, or would take place before me concerning it, ordered to appear before him, Juan Pascual, sailor of the ship named "The Holy Ghost," that is on the point of sailing for the Islands of the West; from whom he took and received an oath by our Lord God, by the sign of the cross, on which Juan Pascual laid his right hand, and by the words of the Holy Four Gospels, which was done in due form, exhorting him to declare, without hatred or ill-will towards any person whatsoever, the truth of all that he knew, or had seen, or heard concerning that for which the said commission was ordered. Juan Pascual was questioned and he, under the aforesaid oath, promised to declare the truth of all he knew, and had heard and seen.

First
Witness
Juan
Pascual

He was examined as follows:

Questioned what was his nationality, and what was his name, he answered that he was a native of the town of Villanova de los Algarves and that he was named Juan Pascual.

Questioned whether he knew Francis Drake, a Lutheran heretic and corsair, and Nuño da Silva, a Portuguese pilot, and any other person who went in the company of said corsair, he answered that while on his way from this port to the kingdoms of Peru, on the vessel in which Don Francisco de Zarate was travelling, they met the said Francis Drake on the 4th of April of the preceding year of 1579, in the neighbourhood of Guatemala, about 30 leagues on this side¹ of the port of Zonzonate.

Francis Drake was coming in a great ship and had, with him, a frigate. He seized deponent, the said Francisco de Zarate, and all the other persons who were in the said ship and placed in her some of his own men.

He distributed among the three ships Don Francisco de Zarate, the deponent and their companions, and for three days they went thus. Deponent spent these three days in the frigate which Francis Drake brought with him, and at the end of the aforesaid three days, the said Francis Drake liberated Don Francisco and the others of his company and let them go in their ship, after having taken from them whatever he fancied. He gave orders that deponent and a negress belonging to San Francisco were to remain with him, and he caused the deponent to be transferred to the large vessel on which he travelled, for the purpose of making him show where water could be obtained. Deponent thus travelled with him, sometimes in irons, and sometimes unfettered, until the following Tuesday of Holy Week, when he was released in the port of Guatulco.

¹ To the north.

During the time when deponent was kept as prisoner on the said ship of Francis Drake, he saw a certain Sebastian Colchero, a mariner, and Nuño da Silva, who is said to be at present detained in the Holy Office. The pilot, Sebastian Colchero, was released and sent ashore on the aforesaid vessel with Don Francisco de Zarate.

Deponent did not know, nor did he learn, anything about any of the other persons who accompanied Francis Drake, excepting the persons of his own country whom he carried with him and two negroes. One of the latter spoke Spanish, and also English, and all said that the Englishman had brought him from England¹. The other one also spoke Spanish, and told witness so, and that he had been seized at sea. Witness does not remember which of these two negroes told him that he had made a contract with Francis Drake.

Witness was asked whether, during the time when he was on board ship with the said Francis Drake, he saw him and the persons who accompanied him, perform any ceremonies or litanies with prayers. He is to declare what particular ceremonies they performed, and whether he saw Nuño da Silva, Colchero and other prisoners assist in the performance of any of the said ceremonies and prayers, or approve, or seem to approve, of them. He said that, every day before sitting down to eat at midday, and before they supped, the said Francis Drake had a table brought out, without a cloth or table cover. He took out a very large book and knelt down, bareheaded, and read from the said book in his English language. All the other Englishmen whom he brought with him were also seated without their hats, and made responses. Some of them held books resembling

¹ This negro could not have been the faithful Cimarron Diego, for he had succumbed to the effect of the wounds received in the fight with the Indians of the island of Mucho.

Bibles in their hands and read in these. The said Nuño da Silva was also seated, next to the others, bareheaded, and read a book which was like a Bible. This witness does not know what book nor in what language it was, nor was he at any time present at the said ceremonies because, as soon as the said table was brought, he understood its purpose and went to the prow of the ship. From thence he saw what he has declared¹. He did not hear Nuño da Silva make responses at any particular time, but saw him read and be bareheaded like the rest, whenever the said ceremonies were performed. Several times, when the said ceremonies were not being performed, witness saw the said Nuño da Silva reading a book which resembled a Book of Hours, but he does not know whether it was the book which he read during the ceremonies, or not. Several of the Englishmen also did likewise, each one reading to himself, apart from the others. This witness did not see or hear of any other prisoner taking part in the said ceremonies. On the contrary, all who could manage to do so withdrew themselves, dissemblingly, so that the Englishmen should not hear or see them doing so.

Witness also added that, sometimes, one of the Englishmen, whom all appeared to respect², preached to them in the English tongue, and was listened to attentively; and that he saw the said Nuño da Silva, with the others, at the said sermons.

Witness declares that this is what he holds to be the truth and what he knows about the case, under the oath he has given and which he affirms. He declared himself to be 26 years of age and not to be a relative, or friend, or enemy of the said Nuño da Silva.

He declares that, during the whole time that he was

¹ Cf. pp. 336 and 354.

² The chaplain, Francis Fletcher.

prisoner, he never spoke to the said Nuño da Silva. Under the said oath he promised to keep this affair, and what he has declared, secret for all time and signed this with his name.

(Signed) JUAN PASCUAL.

(Countersigned)

FRIAR ANDRES DE AGUIRRE.

And I, the said Juan de Sagastiçan, His Majesty's clerk, have heard this declaration and written down what happened, what was declared and what was done before me. I sign myself here.

JUAN DE SAGISTIÇAN,

His Majesty's Clerk.

After this, forthwith, and immediately¹, the said Juan Pascual declared, under the obligation of his oath, that during the whole time when he was prisoner in the power of said Francis Drake, it was Lent, and that the said Francis Drake and all the people from his country, who accompanied him, always ate meat, and that, during the term of this witness's imprisonment, Francis Drake obliged him, and Nuño da Silva, and all the other prisoners who were in his ship, to eat at his table. And all ate meat for he gave them nothing to eat besides biscuit, and meat, and wine.

This, and all else that witness has declared under oath, is the truth and under this oath he promised to keep this and all the rest secret, and he signed this, and when it was read to him, he confirmed and ratified it.

JUAN PASCUAL,

et al.

¹ "luego e incontinente."

5

LETTER FROM BISHOP ALONSO GRANERO DE AVALOS
TO THE INQUISITORS OF MEXICO.

NOTE.

The writer of the following letter, Don Alonso Ramirez Granero de Avalos, was a native of Villaescusa, in the bishopric of Cuenca, Spain, and is described by Beristain as a "lettered priest of great experience who, during many years, filled the position of Inquisitor and Provisor of the Cathedral of Mexico."

Moya de Contreras, the Chief Inquisitor of Mexico, mentions him as "the licentiate Alonso Granero Davalos, Cantor and Inquisitor" in a letter dated Jan. 24, 1575¹.

In a letter to King Philip II dated 1576, the Viceroy Martin Enriquez recommends: "the Inquisitor Avalos who, besides being a man of letters has experience in government, having been a Provisor for so many years, and is a good priest." At Simancas, among the letters to the Council of the Inquisition, there is a letter, written in 1581 (a year after the following set of documents), from Realejo, signed: "We, don Alonso Granero de Avalos, bishop of La Plata, in the realm and province of Peru²."

¹ Cartas de Indias, p. 196.

² Light is thrown not only upon the character of Bishop Avalos but also upon the remarkable frankness with which Spanish Colonial civil authorities criticised the conduct of even so high an ecclesiastic as a Bishop and Inquisitor in their reports to their sovereign, by a letter from Diego de Artieda to King Philip II³. In this it is related that the Bishop of La Plata arrived at Realejo at the end of 1580 and although he did not carry a Commission from the Holy Office of Mexico appointing him as Inquisitor and Visitor of this district he not only instituted himself as such but also "meddled in secular matters."

At Realejo he sentenced one of His Majesty's clerks to be flogged. While in this case the punishment is recognised by Artieda as deserved, he declares that this was not so in the case of eight of the principal residents of the town who were publicly affronted and heavily fined. Artieda's report concludes thus: "But God provided the remedy for all this, for he sent down the Viceroy Don Martin Enriquez who stayed over at Realejo, on his voyage from Mexico to Peru, and took the Bishop away with him."

³ Dated March 18, 1582, published by Don M. M. Peralta, *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panama en el Siglo XVI*, ed. 1883, p. 617.

Illustrious Lords,

The King's vessel being very heavily laden I was obliged to enter the port of Acapulco, and take another ship, on which the cargo is more commodiously distributed. While here I saw, in the church, the havoc made by the English, which is indeed grievous. In order that your Honours should know how it occurred I made this investigation....

From Guatulco, May 15th, 1580.

(Signed) ALONSO GRANERO DE AVALOS,
Bishop of La Plata.

6

OFFICIAL INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED BY BISHOP ALONSO GRANERO DE AVALOS.

NOTE.

Attention is drawn here to the remarkable and irreconcilable differences that exist between the unanimous and sworn testimony of the Spanish eye-witnesses and the English descriptions of Drake's entry into the port of Guatulco. Francis Fletcher laconically states that Guatulco, which they "chanced with," was "so named of the Spaniards who inhabited it, with whom we had some intercourse, to the supply of many things which we desired, and chiefly bread, etc." He merely remarks further that "having reasonably...provided themselves" they departed, taking with them "a certaine pot (of about a bushell in bignesse) full of ryalls of plate" which they had found in the town and "a chain of gold and some other jewels which we entreated a gentleman Spaniard to leave behinde him as he was flying out of towne¹."

It is in the anonymous "Discourse" of Drake's Voyage, dated 1580 and published by Vaux², that the following familiar description occurs, which is repeated in slightly different wording by Purchas³ and in all subsequent historical works dealing with the voyage..."as sone as Drake's men arived on lande, being all very

¹ *World Encompassed*, p. 113.

² *Op. cit.* p. 183.

³ Vol. ii, p. 134.

well furnished, they went to the towne, where they found a iudge sitting in iudgement being associated with 2 other officers, uppon three negrose that had conspired the burning of the towne, and Drake tooke the prisoners and the iudges and brought them all on ship-boord together and set one of the prisoners, who was willing to stay in the country, on lande, who fled into the woods to save himselfe; but the other two negrose hee kept still with him a greate space. When Drake had the three principal Spanyards of the towne, he cawsed the chief iudge to write his letter into the towne to command all the townsmen to avoyd that he might safely water there and also take the spoyle of the towne, ...and they found in one house a great pott, of the quantity of a bushell full of royals of plate which they brought away on boord with them; and here one of Drake's men whose name was Tom Moone, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flyinge out of the towne and riflinge him he found a cheine of gold about him which Moone took from him and what ells that he had worth the taking and so let him go; and here Drake watered his ship and departed."

It will be seen that the only statement contained in the English account which is corroborated by Spanish testimony is the removal from the Factor Rengifo's house of a large sum of money. John Drake, as well as Nuño da Silva, states that Drake took one negro from Guatulco—a minor detail which is not mentioned by any of the Guatulco witnesses, none of whom seem to know of this or of the Spanish gentleman who was said to have fled from the town and been robbed of his gold chain and jewels. On the other hand the English writers observe absolute silence about the acts of religious fanaticism perpetrated in the church of Guatulco, by Drake's men under the leadership of the red-haired, pock-marked boatswain who may possibly have been one of the John Hawkins' men who had suffered so terribly under the rigours of the Inquisition. It was only after his men had sacked the church and returned to "The Golden Hind" with the three Spanish prisoners that Drake went ashore. As an offset to the religious intolerance of his men it is interesting to note the consideration shown by Drake to the vicar of Guatulco who testifies that when he refused to eat meat in Lent, he was served with fish, and to his Spanish prisoners in general whom he directed to retreat to a distant part of the ship if they did not care to attend the religious services which he was about to conduct "according to his mode."

A

DEPOSITION OF DIEGO DE ALARCON, NOTARY.

In the port of Guatulco, of the diocese of Oaxaca, on the twelfth day of the month of May of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty, the Very Illustrious and Reverend Lord Alonso Granero de Avalos, Bishop of La Plâta, of the government of His Majesty, authorised Inquisitor, of the City of Mexico, and the kingdoms and provinces of New Spain and its territories and border-lands, appeared before me, Diego de Alarcon, priest and notary, appointed by His Lordship for matters pertaining to the Holy Office of the Inquisition.

Having received from me, in due form, my oath that I would perform the said office well and faithfully, and all that I would be ordered to do in connection with it, with all secrecy and diligence, he said that an English Corsair named Francis Drake, with many other Englishmen, had entered this port and, with great disrespect and irreverence, had robbed and profaned its church, and the vessels used for divine service, and broken and hacked the sacred images, committing also other offences against Our Lord and our Christian religion; showing contempt of things pertaining to the latter; scoffing at our Holy Catholic Faith, its precepts and what pertains to it; publishing tenets of the Lutheran sect; approving these; forcing his men to observe them, persuading and advising others to do so. In order to be certain and see the aforesaid with his own eyes, His Lordship said that he wished to visit, in person, the said church, so as to understand what had happened as aforesaid. And thus, accompanied by many people, he went and had mass said in the church, and he and the people saw how the altar picture and the images had been destroyed, with many cuts and fractures, also a Christ that was high above the altar.

Gaspar de Vargas, the Chief Alcalde, and Bernardino Lopez, and others stated that the above had been done by the said Englishmen, and that they had stolen the sacred vestments and the bell from the said church, and done further damage in it and in the port, like the Lutheran heretics that they were.

Such being the case, and the signs of destruction being as stated above, I, the said Notary, was ordered to certify and testify that all of the foregoing is true and thus, accordingly, I subscribe my name.

(Signed) DIEGO DE ALARCON,
Notary.

B

DEPOSITION OF JUAN PASCUAL, SAILOR.

In the port of Guatulco on the thirteenth day of the month of May of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty, in the presence of the Illustrious and Reverend Lord Don Alonso Garcia de Avalos, Bishop of La Plata, of the government of His Majesty, authorised Inquisitor, there appeared, having been summoned, Juan Pascual, a sailor of the frigate of His Majesty which was in Acapulco, and is at present in this port.

He said that he was a native of Villanova del Algarve, of Portugal. After his oath had been received in due form, he promised to state the truth, and said that he was twenty-six years of age, a little more or less.

Asked whether he knew or conjectured the reason why he had been summoned, he answered, yes, and that a friar who had been on his way to China had already taken his declaration about the affair of the Englishmen, and that, on searching his memory, it seemed to him that he had then forgotten certain facts which he would now declare.

He was told that he was to state and declare what had happened in connection with the said affair in Guatulco. He was to speak without omitting anything whatsoever, recalling to his memory the time and the place and the occasion, so that he would not again forget things, as he said he had done, when the said friar had taken his declaration.

He said that on the twenty-third day of March of the previous year seventy-nine, he had left the port of Acapulco in the company of Don Francisco de Zarate who was going to the kingdoms of Peru in a vessel laden with merchandise. As they pursued their voyage towards Nicaragua, they perceived behind them a large vessel and a frigate. This was the ship of the Englishman, which afterwards arrived at this port, and the frigate which had been taken from her owner who was from Panama.

When those on witness's vessel saw the aforesaid ship, they conjectured that she was a ship named "of William¹," and, as she approached, this witness and the others on his ship hailed her, according to custom. But although they saluted her twice the Englishmen would not respond. When she came still nearer and the Englishmen were asked what vessel theirs was, they answered that she was of "Miguel Angel" and witness and the others understood that she was the "Miguel Angel," from Peru².

Then immediately the Englishmen began to cry, "Surrender, surrender," and from behind the ship there

¹ "que dice de Guillermo."

² Master Miguel Angel went on both expeditions sent against Drake from Lima and was the chief pilot of the second one. See Sarmiento's narrative, p. 71. In "The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins," about his voyage into the South Sea in 1593 a certain Michael Angell or Michael Arckangell is described as being "a man of experience and care." He appears to be identical with the Miguel Angel Filipon mentioned in the Spanish account of the action between Richard Hawkins and Bernardino de Castro. See Hakluyt Soc. ed., pp. 313 and 317.

came a launch carrying a dozen men armed with swords, daggers, shields and arrows. They entered the ship on which this witness travelled and demanded and seized the arms of all on board. Then they at once asked which was Don Francisco, and when they were told, they immediately informed the General of the Englishmen.

The latter ordered that Don Francisco be removed to his ship, so he was at once placed in the launch and carried off. Then the Spaniards were distributed in the vessel and the frigate. This witness was put into the frigate. On the following day the said Englishman, who was named Francis Drake, summoned to his vessel the people he chose and asked them where they thought water or fuel was to be had. They answered him that water and fuel were there, but that they could not be obtained because the coast was rough. He likewise said that it seemed to him there was a heavy sea, but that he needed water and fuel, and that this witness and the others "must give" him water and fuel and go with him to obtain and give these to him. A certain Pedro Hernandez, who was the Captain of Don Francisco de Zarate's ship, on which this witness sailed, called out: "Juan Pascual! the General is calling you!" meaning by General the said Francis Drake.

Witness answered: "What General?" and the said Pedro Hernandez said: "He of the ship." This witness then went to the ship and found them at prayers, some kneeling, and some seated. He affirms that some were seated. And then they dined and after eating the said English General said to him "Is there water over in that direction?" and witness answered that he did not know, and that there was a heavy sea. Then, forthwith, the said Francisco de Zarate said to the said Francis Drake, "For the love of God let us go our ways," and the said Englishman said that he would see about it. He could be

understood because he spoke some Spanish¹. He thus detained the Spaniards for three days and this witness and the others were in fear that the Francis Drake would order them to be killed. On entering the English vessel, witness saw a certain Sanchez Colchero of Atlixco, who had been on his way to Panama, and from whom the said Englishman had taken a frigate². He came and embraced witness, for they knew each other, and the latter asked him how he came to be there and he related how he had been robbed; and that the said Englishmen were laden with silver and gold, but that they killed no one³.

And the said Colchero said to the Englishman: "This youth will take you to where there are water and fuel for he knows very well where they are." Witness then said "It is true that this man knows me, but I know nothing of latitude or things about navigation, and I could but poorly guide you to where there are water and fuel. I do not know why you want to take me with you, for I know nothing whatever of such things." And the said Francis Drake said to witness that he would have him hanged and beheaded, and this he said three times⁴. Then the said Francisco de Zarate said that if Francis Drake would release his ship and crew that he and one of his servants would go back with Francis Drake to the port of Sonsonate which lay behind them and that there they could obtain water and fuel.

¹ "...acabando de comer le dixo el dicho general ingles 'hacia alli ay agua?' y este le respondio que no sabia, que avia mar y luego el dicho Francisco de Çarate dixo a el dicho draque que por amor de Dios les dexase yr su camino y el dicho yngles dixo 'que se veria en ello' y que se le entendia porque hablava algo en Hespañol...."

² See Colchero's deposition, p. 193.

³ "que ivan cargado los dichos yngleses de plata y oro y que no matavan a nadie."

⁴ "...Draque dixo a este que lo havia de colgar y quitar la cabeça y este le dixo tres veces."

But the said Drake would not do anything but take this witness with him as well as a negress, and he plundered the ship of the said Don Francisco and in order to do so he told Don Francisco that he wanted one of his servants to accompany him with the keys of the coffers and chests and to show him what he carried. And he thus went and took from the said coffers and chests whatsoever he wanted and he came, as has been said, within nine leagues of this port. There they saw a fire on land, and witness said: "There, I think, for certain, water can be had if one goes to fetch it," it being witness's intention to make his escape as he was now familiar with the country. The said Drake said that "he would see," and as there was a calm he cast anchor that night. The next morning they travelled and came to this port and when they saw a ship inside he also entered the port and robbed her of all that he wanted.

The said Englishmen prayed twice a day, and carried with them a Portuguese who is now in Mexico and who also prayed with them and ate with them, but witness does not know whether he said the same prayers as those of the Englishmen. The other Spaniards withdrew and went to the prow, but, twice a day, the said Nuño da Silva prayed like the rest, and listened to their sermons and held a book like a "Book of Hours" in his hand. And the said Drake knelt on his knees on a cushion in front of a table and chanted in a low voice and all the others responded to him¹. Witness does not know whether Nuño da Silva responded or not, nor does witness know more than that he saw him, as already mentioned, with them, and that the sermon was preached once or twice during the week.

On arriving at this port the Englishman took in fuel

¹ "...y el dicho draque se hincava de rodillas en un coxin delante una mesa y cantava en tono baxo y todos le respondian." Cf. pp. 325 and 354.

and water and in order to get it he seized three men. One of those was the vicar of this port, the other was a certain Francisco Gomez, and the other the mayor, whose name witness does not know. He afterwards learned that they had hacked the images and robbed the things belonging to the church. As he was a prisoner he did not see who did this nor know what had transpired until after the next day, when witness, with a shackle on his foot, in company of the said vicar and Francisco Gomez, went to indicate where water could be had, leaving the mayor behind on the ship.

They showed Francis Drake where water was from the frigate, for he would not let them go ashore. On the following day, which was Tuesday, he released all four of them. He released the pilot Nuño da Silva on Holy Thursday, when he wished to depart, and put him in the ship of Juan de Madrid, which was in this port, without a crew. He left him a big chest which he had, full of merchandise. From this empty ship the said Silva shouted out repeatedly that they were to come to take him out of her. When they looked out on Friday they saw the said Englishman out on the open sea. This is what witness knows, and this, under the oath he took, is the truth.

Questioned as to what were the facts that witness alluded to as having been forgotten when he made his other declaration about this affair, he said that whilst out at sea, he saw the boatswain of Francis Drake's ship, whose name he does not know, take a small sacred image that was on a tablet, and begin to strike blows with it. Witness begged him not to break it and to give it to him and the said boatswain asked him: "What do you want it for?" Witness answered: "Give it to me to give away to some boy." The boatswain said of the image, "This is no good," and would not give it but broke it instead, into pieces against a beam of the ship¹.

¹ For a precedent of this act of intolerance see Vaux, p. 21.

The said Englishmen ate meat in Lent, and bade witness and the rest also eat it and they did so, because they were given nothing else. He carried two negroes with him who also attended prayers with them.

Questioned whether he understood anything of what they prayed and preached, he said not more than that the said Francis Drake sometimes said "by God's faith" and "if God wills, I will soon get out of this." He also said "There is no one in this sea that would dare to do me harm; I suffice for as many ships as there are in this sea," and that "within eight months he would be in his country¹."

Questioned what treatment or force was used by the said Englishman with the Spaniards he took prisoners, he answered that he did not see Francis Drake do any harm to anyone, on the contrary, he made them eat at his table, and thus he carried the said Nuño da Silva with him, unconfined, and spoke and had friendly intercourse with him². Witness, however, did not understand their conversations.

Questioned how it was that he did not understand the conversation, since he was a Portuguese like the said Silva, he answered that the said Silva spoke some words in the English language and that witness did not understand what they talked about.

Witness was told to declare why they gave Francis Drake information about the getting of water and fuel, since he did not employ force to make them do so. Witness answered that it was because he had said that he would cut their heads off, and that he had killed many

¹ "...Francisco Draque decia algunas veces 'a fee de Dios' y 'si Dios quiere saldré presto de aqui que no hay en este mar quien me ose hacer mal; que yo basto para todos quantos navios andan en el mar' y 'que dentro de ocho meses estaria en su tierra'."

² "Dixo que no les vio hacer mal ninguno a nadie antes les hacian comer a su mesa y asi traya el dicho Nuño da Silva sin prisiones consigo y hablava e tratava con el..."

others, and that it would be nothing to him to kill them all. And that on Francis Drake's ship all his men trembled before him and when he paced the deck they passed before him trembling, with their hats in hand, bowing to the ground¹. Witness also remembers that the said Englishman asked him and others whether there were ships and men in the port of Acapulco, and that witness, Pedro Hernandez and Juan Daza answered "Yes," having agreed to say so if they were asked. Witness understands that it was on this account that the said Englishman abandoned his project of entering the said port of Acapulco, and this is the truth, and witness cannot remember anything else under the oath he took. He signed this declaration with his name, it was read to him, and he ratified it.

(Signed) JUAN PASCUAL.

In my presence,

DIEGO DE ALARCON,
Clerical Notary.

¹ "Dixo que porque decia que les cortaria la cabeza y que a otros muchos habia muerto e que no se le dava nada de matarlos a todos' e que en su mismo navio temblavan todos los suyos de el en dando una patada sobre la cuvierta y pasavan temblando delante de el con el sombrero en la mano y reverenciaban hasta el suelo...."

There is a marked contradiction between Juan Pascual's previous description of Drake's kindness to his prisoners and the reasons he gives his interlocutor for giving Drake information where to obtain fresh water after he had been blamed for doing so. To prove his loyalty he then relates how he misinformed Drake about the port of Acapulco and thus prevented him from entering it.

He also takes good care to conceal the fact recorded by Fletcher (Vaux, p. 178) and in Purchas (vol. ii, p. 134) that it was he who "brought" Drake's ship to the haven of Guatulco, informing him that there were but seventeen Spaniards in it.

C

DEPOSITION OF GASPAR DE VARGAS, CHIEF ALCALDE
OF THE PORT OF GUATULCO.

In the port of Guatulco, on the 14th day of the month of May of the year fifteen hundred and eighty, in the presence of the Very Illustrious and Reverend Don Alonso Granero de Avalos, Bishop of la Plata, of the Government of His Majesty, authorised Inquisitor, there appeared, having been summoned, Gaspar de Vargas, the Chief Alcalde of the said port, who took the oath in due form and promised to speak the truth and declared his age to be fifty-six, a little more or less. Questioned whether he knows or conjectures why he has been summoned, he answered that what he knows and conjectures is that it concerns the proceedings instituted by his Reverend Lordship and what he knows most about is as follows: In the month of April of the previous year of 1579 on Monday of Holy Week on the thirteenth day of the month and about noon-time two vessels entered this port. One was large; the other was a small frigate. On seeing them, this witness wanted to visit them, with his judges and Alcalde according to the custom observed in this and all other ports belonging to His Majesty, in order to know and ascertain what was expedient and to attend to matters according to the order appointed. Just then a boat left the vessel, with apparently twenty or twenty-five men, and came ashore in great haste with the frigate. It was not known who they were until they were so close to land that they could almost leap ashore.

No one, at that time, knew who they were until a sailor cried out "The English, the English!" This witness then summoned, in the King's name, the few Spaniards who were about, and went to the market-place of the said

port, so as to protect the land. This had, however, little effect on account of the number of Englishmen who jumped ashore from the frigate and boat, armed with arquebuses, swords and shields. On their account and because some pieces of artillery were shot from the said frigate, not a person remained with this witness, who therefore retired, little by little, until he reached the wood at about 50 or 100 paces from the church of this port¹. There he remained for the space of three or four hours during which the said Englishmen sacked the port.

Then this witness returned to the church, which he found robbed of its sacred vestments, which were many and good. The picture that was on the altar was destroyed and cut; the bell had been stolen and offences and sacrileges had been committed such as the said English would naturally do, being, as they were, Lutheran heretics.

They had taken prisoners Simon de Miranda, the curate of this port, and Francisco Gomez, a citizen of the town, and Gutierrez de Miranda who was here at that time. They were kept prisoners on his said ship until Holy Tuesday, when, at four o'clock in the afternoon, he sent them ashore. From these men witness learnt that the captain of that vessel and the frigate was named Francis Drake, and that he was an Englishman and a Lutheran. Said Englishman remained over Wednesday and Thursday robbing merchandise from a vessel that was about to leave this port for Zonzonate. On Good Friday, before daybreak, he set sail, leaving, in the aforesaid vessel that he had robbed, a man, who on being brought ashore, proved to be a Portuguese who, according to his declaration, had been

¹ "y así se fue poco a poco retirando hasta el monte cercano de la yglesia deste dicho puerto como cincuenta o cient pasos de ella a donde estuvo por espacio de tres o quatro horas que duro el saco que en este puerto hicieron los ingleses...."

Cf. the testimony of Bernardino Lopez who relates that when the heavy artillery was shot "everybody fled," p. 343.

forced to accompany the English Corsair in the North and South Seas. This witness sent this man to His Excellency the Viceroy and has since learnt that he is detained and imprisoned by the Holy Office in the City of Mexico.

The foregoing is what he knows and saw of the said Englishman. Moreover, he heard from the said prisoners who were released, that during the days of Holy Week that they spent on board all the ship's crew habitually ate meat, and that in the conversations they held with the Englishman, the latter insolently and shamelessly denied the power of the Pope, calling him improper names; denying the use of images and condemning the religious orders according to the way these heretics talk yonder in their country.

(Signed) GASPAR DE VARGAS.

D

DEPOSITION OF BERNARDINO LOPEZ, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF GUATULCO.

In the port of Guatulco, on the 15th day of the month of May, of one thousand five hundred and eighty, in the presence of the Very Illustrious and Reverend Señor Don Alonso Granero de Avalos, Bishop of La Plata, of the government of His Majesty, authorised Inquisitor, there appeared, having been summoned, Bernardino Lopez, Lieutenant-Governor of this port, and clerk of His Majesty, who took the oath in due form, under which he promised to speak the truth, and stated that his age was fifty years, a little more or less.

Questioned whether he knows or conjectures the reason why he is summoned, he said that he did not.

Questioned whether he possesses knowledge of the time in which a certain Francis Drake and other English Lutherans came to this port and of the things they did in

the said port, he answered that what he knows is, that on Monday of Holy Week, of the preceding year seventy-nine, at eleven o'clock of the day, a little more or less, it was reported that near the said port, in the direction of its headland, two vessels were entering, one large, the other small. At that time there were, of its residents, present in this port, the Chief Alcalde, Gaspar de Vargas, Francisco Gomez Rengifo and Juan Perez de Uribarri, clerk, and this witness, besides Juan Gomez, captain and pilot of the ship named "Juan de Madrid" that was anchored there, laden with merchandise about to set sail, and many other persons, passengers and sailors. These saw the aforesaid large and small vessels sailing in, in the direction of the "Bufadero," and, as they cast anchor, some said that it was Don Gregorio Ronquillo, the Governor of the Islands of the West who was arriving with other ships from China¹. Then, immediately, the commander of the (larger) vessel untied the boat and in her and with the launch came on shore, first going around the ship that was in port. A Genoese sailor, named Bartolome Guerzo, then said to the Chief Alcalde, who wanted to go there, "that he should wait and not go, because it seemed to him that the vessels were English and bent on evil."

Then, forthwith, the said Chief Alcalde came out of his house with a sword and shield and those who could also seized some arms. Then, what seemed to witness to be sixty or seventy men landed from the launch, producing arquebuses and arrows, and from the ship they fired big artillery; for which reason, everybody fled from the gunshot.

The witness ran up a hill, whence he saw, on turning his head, how the said Lutherans seized Simon de Miranda,

¹ "...governador de las yslas de el poniente y otros navios de la China..." i.e. the Philippines.

the vicar of this province, and Gutierrez de Miranda, the judge of Xochitepec, and took them towards the shore. He also saw a tall hunchbacked Lutheran taking down the bell from the belfry of the church. And the said Lutherans robbed all they cared to take from this port and all the contents of a chest that was in the holy Church, which consisted of sacred vestments and many gold and silver vessels used for daily service. They then went to their ship, taking with them as prisoners the said vicar, the Chief Alcalde, and Francisco Gomez, the factor. On the following Tuesday, in the morning, they went to get water at a place named "Yaguey," beyond this port, and after supplying themselves, they returned to this port, where they released the prisoners.

On the same Tuesday the said factor, Francisco Gomez Rengifo, came to see this witness and related to him what had happened on the ship during his imprisonment. He said that the said Francis Drake was a man with whom one could talk without fear, and that he [Francis Drake] had given him his word and promised as much¹. He added that it would be a good thing to go and speak to him, requesting him not to burn the ship and the merchandise that was in her, and also not to burn the port and the church and houses.

Without giving him an answer the witness immediately went to the church, where he saw the picture of the Mother of God, which was placed on the altar, broken into pieces and appearing to have been cut many times with a knife. The crosses that were there were also broken into pieces, and all the hosts from the box in which the unconsecrated wafers are kept were strewn on the floor and trampled upon. With a bundle of twine this witness had with him

he collected these wafers and put them back into the box and then went back to talk with the said Francisco Gomez and asked him whether he had been to see the church. He answered "Yes," and that he had been filled with sorrow and had turned back immediately after having entered the door.

They both agreed that, on the following day, they would go to talk with the said Lutheran on his ship, but that they would do so after dining, so as not to have to dine with him, as he ate meat. Thus, on the said Wednesday of Holy Week, after dinner they went to talk to the said Lutheran, namely, this witness, the said Francisco Gomez Rengifo and Juan Reyes, a tailor, also a soldier whose name this witness cannot recall, and two sailors.

When they entered the ship the Lutheran, Francis Drake, was below and he made them go down to the lowest deck, where he showed them the silver, artillery and ammunition he carried. Then he made them go up and invited them to dine with him, and this witness said: "we kiss your Lordship's hands, but we have already dined on shore." Then he had refreshments brought and made them partake of these and he gave them wine to drink. This witness then said to him: that what they had come for was to entreat his Lordship to have mercy on them; that he had taken what he wished from the port, without meeting with opposition and that the ship which was anchored there did not contain gold or silver, but merchandise of the country belonging to poor men, which said cargo had been embarked by this witness. They begged his Lordship to think it over well and to content himself with what had been done out of consideration for the fact that they were all poor.

Then the said captain said: "The pilot of the ship is to appear and come to speak to me and all will be well. If he does not appear" (here he put his hand to his throat,

making a sign that he would do much harm)¹. With this they took leave of him, and when they did so, the captain said to the witness and the others who went with him that they were to come and dine with him on the following Thursday, which was Holy Thursday, and that he would make it right with them all². And with this they left, saying that they would do so.

On shore the witness and the said Francisco Gomez and the others decided that they would not look upon his face again, and that, if he sent the boat for them, as agreed upon, he was to be told that the Alcalde of this port had placed a great penalty on those who went to his ship.

The witness went to Guatulco, and on Good Friday, in the morning, the said Francisco Gomez came there and told him how he (Francis Drake) had sent for them, how the message agreed upon had been transmitted to him, and how he had set sail on the same Good Friday.

This is what witness knows and remembers as having happened. Witness saw one of the said Lutherans, who was tall, but whose name he does not know, wear a chasuble from the said church. He saw its bell hanging near the pump-dale of the ship, and heard it said that it was used to summon the men to pump.

After the English had departed this witness saw many statues of Saint Francis, and other images, whose faces looked as though they had been bitten or gnawed. He also saw, broken to pieces, many crosses, such as pedlars usually carry in their bundles, and which had been taken from said ship.

¹ "...y el dicho capitan dixo que pareciese el piloto de el navio y le fuese a hablar y que todo se haria bien y que si no pareciese' puso la mano en la garganta haciendo señal que havia de hacer mucho mal..."

² "dixo: que se fuesen a comer con el Jueves siguiente que era Jueves sancto que el lo haria bien con todos..."

Besides this, Francisco Gomez told witness that the said Lutheran was very book-learned and carried with him books of his sect and expounded them.

Read to him and ratified before me,

(Signed) BERNARDINO LOPEZ.

DIEGO DE ALARCON,
Curate, Notary.

E

DEPOSITION OF SIMON DE MIRANDA, VICAR OF THE PORT OF GUATULCO.

In the port of Guatulco, on the 15th day of the month of May of 1580, in the presence of the Very Illustrious and Reverend Don Alonso Garcia de Avalos, Bishop of La Plata, of the Government of His Majesty, authorised Inquisitor, there appeared, having been summoned, Simon de Miranda, priest and vicar of this said port from whom the said Lord Bishop took and received his oath in due form, under which he promised to speak the truth, and he said that his age was fifty, a little more or less.

Questioned whether he knew or conjectured the reason why he had been summoned, he said that he did not know.

He was bidden to tell and declare what had happened in this port in connection with the coming of Francis Drake, Englishman. He said, that last year, 1579, in the month of April, it seems to him that fourteen of its days had passed, on Monday of Holy Week, there arrived in this port a ship and a launch, at about ten o'clock or noon. Thirty or forty armed Englishmen landed, carrying arquebuses,* swords and shields and bows, and seized witness, Francisco Gomez and Gutierrez Diaz of Atlixco, and took them to the vessel of the said Francis Drake. They were

guarded until the said Drake came out of his¹ cabin where he had been sleeping or resting. When he came out, he told them that they were not to be in fear of their lives, that their lives would be protected as well as his own¹. He had them taken below deck and placed four soldiers to guard them. The said Drake went ashore with his men and plundered the whole port. Then he returned to the ship and the table was set and he, the said Francisco Gomez, and Gutierrez Diaz of Atlixco, ate meat, pork and chickens. Although they served meat to this witness he would not eat it and so he ate fish which was given him. On this and the following day the said Francis Drake had a large book brought to him and read it for some time. He said that it was to them what the Bible is to us. It contained many illuminated pictures of the Lutherans who had been burnt in Spain².

He spoke much evil of the Supreme Pontiff and said that he who would live six years longer would see what would happen, for not a friar was to remain alive. He also said "How can it be tolerated that a prince or monarch is to kiss the foot of the Pope? This is a swindle, and Saint Peter did not do thus³."

He also expressed his abomination of the Pope in other words of great audacity.

A certain Nuño da Silva, a Portuguese whom the said Francis Drake carried with him, held much intimate inter-

¹ "que no tuviesen miedo de la vida que seria guardada como la suya propia." Like the other witnesses the vicar faithfully repeats the fluent and forcible but foreign Spanish used by Drake in this and the other sentences recorded.

² "un libro grande...en el cual tenia y luminadas muchas figuras de los luteranos que an sido quemados en hespaña." See p. 356.

³ "que el que viviese seis años veria lo que pasava porque no havia de quedar frayle vivo y que como se sufria que besase el pie a el papa un principe ni un monarca porque era bellaqueria y que sant Pedro no lo hacia asi y otras palabras semejantes...."

course with the said Englishman, who caressed him, treated him very well, and had him seated at his table¹. Both spoke in the English language and thus one could not understand what they were saying. When they prayed, the Portuguese prayed with them and it appeared as though he sang and made responses with them, for there was no apparent difference between them, and he seemed to be one of them. The only difference was in his person and aspect, for he was small and the said Englishmen were tall and ruddy complexioned. The next day, in the afternoon, witness and his companions were released and he came to this port, and saw the church profaned and plundered, and the images broken and slashed, and the altar picture and a crucifix and the altar stone broken to pieces. They had carried off all the sacred vestments, and the bell, and the chalices and monstrance, lamp and water and wine vessels, and other silver things of great value; also canopies and altar cloths, and the canopy of the Sacrament, which was of crimson velvet.

They had left nothing of what had been in the Church. As witness then realised that they were Lutherans, although he had promised to return on board, he decided not to keep his word, and went to the town of Guatulco, which is three leagues distant from this port.

He does not know what other persons held intercourse with them if it were not a certain Francisco Gomez, a citizen of this port who is now absent. He gave them meat and chickens, trying to propitiate them, so that they would give back to him some of what they had taken from him.

In point of fact they gave him back a small dish and several coins of the value of eight tomines.

¹ "y el dicho ingles le acariciava y tratava muy bien y asentava consigo a la mesa y ambos hablaban en lengua ynglesa...."

Witness does not remember anything else, for the present and this is the truth upon his oath. He signed this with his name, it was read to him, and he ratified it.

(Signed) SIMON DE MIRANDA.

Before me,

DIEGO DE ALARCON,
Priest, Notary.

7

DEPOSITION OF FRANCISCO GOMEZ RENGIFO, FACTOR OF
THE PORT OF GUATULCO.

In the town of Antequera¹, on the 18th of February of the year 1580, the Illustrious Doctor Sancho de Alcorriz, Dean of the Cathedral of this town, Commissioner of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, said that, in fulfilment of a written order received from the Lords Inquisitors, which was approved on July 20th of the preceding year of seventy-nine, it was his duty to order that an inquiry be made on all matters contained in the said written order.

He therefore ordered the witness Francisco Gomez Rengifo, citizen of this town, to appear before him, and took and received his oath which he gave by God, Saint Mary, and by the words of the Gospels and sign of the cross, promising to tell the truth of what he knew and what would be asked of him. Under the said oath he promised to speak the truth and on being questioned stated as follows:

Questioned whether this witness was present in the port of Guatulco when Francis Drake, Englishman and Corsair, entered into it in the previous year of seventy-nine, and what persons he carried with him in his ship, whether they were all English or whether there were men of other

¹ The town now known as Oaxaca, the capital of the State of the same name.

nationalities, such as Frenchmen, Portuguese, Spaniards, Venetians or others, he answered that he was present in the port of Guatulco when the said Englishman entered, which was on the Monday of Holy Week in the preceding year seventy-nine, at two o'clock after midday, and that he was one of those whom the Englishman had kept as prisoner on his ship.

The said Englishman carried with him eighty persons, of whom witness only knew one who was English, and who, about five or six years previously, had been in the said port. When this Englishman first came to the port, witness was told that he had been cook and pastry-cook to His Excellency the Viceroy of this New Spain¹.

Witness wanted to speak to him, being a man he knew, but although he addressed him, the said Englishman made no answer. Witness also saw three or four other men, in a different dress from that worn by the Englishmen and therefore inquired of what nationality they were, for it seemed to him that they could not be Englishmen.

A Portuguese youth who called himself Pascual, whom the Englishman took from Don Francisco de Zarate's frigate and was keeping with him, told the witness that those men were not Englishmen but from [...illegible] adding: "How is it that you do not recognise them? Over there in the port of Guatulco they used to associate with our men." After Pasqual had told the witness this, the latter realised the truth of what he said².

¹ In the Mexican Archives I found it recorded that one of the several cooks of the Hawkins expedition of 1569 named William Cook, was taken prisoner at Vera Cruz, and afterwards employed by the Viceroy. Pascual's statement seems to prove that, having escaped and worked his way back to England, this individual joined Drake's company and was the same William Coke who figured in Doughty's trial. See Vaux, p. 169.

² It appears, from the above, that beside one or more Englishmen who had been members of the John Hawkins expedition and had been left in Mexico in 1569, Drake was accompanied by some sailors

Questioned what robberies and thefts the said Englishman and his men committed in the port of Guatulco and in the church and to what shameless profanations and evil doings they subjected the images therein and the Holy Sacrament, also whether the latter was in the church at the time, witness answered that for the past ten years he has been the custodian of the church of the said port of Guatulco, by appointment of the Prelate and Visitors of this city of Antequera. He is therefore well acquainted with the property of the church which consisted of a silver lamp and a monstrance, which the Englishman used as a drinking vessel after having stolen it; two silver chalices, one of them gilt, two pairs of small silver flagons¹ for serving wine and water at mass; one black damask vestment with all that is necessary for saying mass; a similar set of blue damask; another of white damask, also a yellow set; a canopy of crimson satin; a cope of crimson satin, with a border of blue velvet, besides other sacred vestments, such as altar-cloths and towels, and surplices, for the boys who assisted at mass in said church; and five pairs of altar-cloths, which the Englishmen carried on their shoulders, using them to wipe the perspiration from their faces. Also a missal of the Council of Trent, and the box in which the unconsecrated wafers were kept, from which they took all the wafers and broke them into pieces and stamped them underfoot. They also broke up the tablet of the unconsecrated wafers. After having robbed all of the aforesaid things from the chest, in which they were kept, in the church, they smashed to pieces an image of Our Lady, with Our Father and the Holy Ghost, and hacked and scratched and made holes in it. Together

of other nationalities who had previously frequented the Pacific coast and were recognised not only by Pascual but also by the Factor. This is further corroborated by de Zarate in his letter (p. 206).

¹ Spanish text "vinajeras."

with the cross to which it was attached, they smashed a crucifix to pieces.

Besides this they seized the person of the witness and took him as prisoner from his home to the ship. From his home they robbed everything that it contained belonging to him and to others, which amounted to about seven thousand pesos in reals, in silver and gold, and clothing¹. The sacred images that were at the head of his bed and on his writing table were also broken to pieces. The boatswain of the Englishman's ship took a crucifix which belonged to witness, and seizing it by the feet struck its head against a table breaking it to pieces, saying "Here it is; here you go!" Seeing by witness's face that he was grieved, the boatswain said "You ought indeed to be grieved, for you are not Christians but idolaters, who adore stocks and stones²." Witness does not know this boatswain's name. He was small, with a scant, fair beard and his face was pitted with pock-marks. He was the first to lay hands on the witness to take him to the ship, saying, that "he was to come along" and "that the Captain was a good man³," and witness was thus taken

¹ The following statement by the English merchant John Chilton, who lived and travelled in Mexico from 1568-1585, is of special interest in connection with the above, "...there lieth a port in the South Sea, called Aguatulco in which there dwell not above three or four Spaniards, with certain Negroes, which the King maintaineth there: in which place Sir Francis Drake arrived in the year 1579 in the month of April: where I lost with his being there about 1,000 duckets: which he took away with much other of goods of other merchants of Mexico from one Francisco Gomes Rengifa, Factor there for all the Spanish merchants that then traded in the South Sea. For from this port they use to embark all their goods that go for Peru and to the kingdom of Honduras." Hakluyt, vol. ix, p. 365.

² "diciendo 'Aca esta, vades vos'...e le dixo 'Pesios, pues vosotros no soys xpianos sino idolatras que adorays en palos e piedras'." The foreign construction of the Englishman's Spanish utterances as here recorded reveals the faithfulness with which they were remembered and repeated by Rengifo.

³ "...diziendole que se fuese con el que buen hombre era el capitan...."

to the ship. When on board of the ship, the boatswain approached Simon de Miranda, the vicar of the said port, and detached from the rosary he wore around his neck a gold image of Our Lady of the Rosary. On removing it from the rosary, the boatswain said "Why do you wear this? this is no good¹," and saying this he placed the medal between his teeth and bit it, making a show of great anger. Then he took the medal in his hand, and made a gesture as though he were about to cast it into the sea. Witness does not know whether he threw it in or not.

Witness did not know or learn the names of those who were on the said ship, excepting the pirate, Francis Drake; the said Pasqual, and Nuño da Silva, the Portuguese who is in Mexico. It seemed to witness that the English and Nuño da Silva treated each other with entire friendship, but he does not know what they discussed or spoke, because they did so in the English tongue, which witness does not understand. But witness, and the said vicar, Simon de Miranda, as well as the judge of Xochitepec, saw how, after having taken them prisoners, and sacked the port, and taken possession of the laden vessel that lay at anchor, the said Francis Drake had a table placed on deck at the poop of the vessel, and, at its head, on the floor, a small box and an embroidered cushion. He then sent for a book of the size of the *Lives of the Saints* and when all this was in place he struck the table twice with the palm of his hand. Then, immediately nine Englishmen, with nine small books of the size of a breviary, joined him and seated themselves around him and the table. Then the said Francis Drake crossed his hands and, kneeling on the cushion and small box, lifted his eyes to heaven and remained in that attitude for about a quarter of an hour.

¹ "...porque traes tu este aqui que esto no es buend..." The disrespectful use of the second person singular, to a priest and the construction of the sentence reveal the speaker's ignorance of Spanish.

He then said to this witness and to the other prisoners that if they wanted to recite the psalms according to his mode they could stay, but if not, that they could go to the prow. As they stood up to go towards the prow, he spoke again saying "that they were to keep quiet," and he began reading the psalms in the English language of which witness understood nothing whatsoever. This act lasted about an hour and then they brought four viols, and made lamentations and sang together, with the accompaniment of the stringed instruments. Witness does not know what they sang, as he could not understand it.

Immediately afterwards he ordered a boy, whom he had brought as a page, to come and then made him dance in the English fashion, with which the service ended¹. Then the said Francis Drake turned to witness, who had been looking at the book on the table during service, and asked him why he had been looking so much at his

¹ "...el dho, Francisco Draque mando poner en la popa del navio sobre cubierta una mesa y a la cabeçera della en el suelo una caxuela pequeña e un coxin de labores e mando traer un libro del tamaño de un 'flos sanctorum' y el dho Francisco Draque estando puesto todo esto en la mesa dio dos palmadas sobrella e luego acudieron nueve ingleses con nueve librillos del tamaño de un breviario e se sentaron al redor del e de la mesa todos nueve e estando asi cruzo el dho. Francisco Draque las manos e yncado de rodillas sobre el coxin e la caxuela alzo los ojos al cielo y en aquello sujetose e estuvo como un quarto de hora e luego dixo a este testigo e a los demas que estaban presos que si querian rezar 'la salma' [el salmo] a su modo que se estuviesen con ellos e si no que se fuesen a proa e levantandose para yrse a proa volvioles a decir que se estuviesen quedos y el començo 'la salma' en lengua ynglesa que no le entendio este testige cosa ninguna e que estarian en este acto casi una hora y luego traxeron quatro bihuelas de arco e treneron y cantaron en canto de organo...e luego hizo venir a un muchacho que traya de paje e le hiço dançar a modo de ynglaterra con la cual se acavo 'la salma'." It is interesting to observe how instead of the Spanish masculine word for psalm=salmo, Drake is reported to have used a feminine form—a common error often made by foreigners speaking the language. As to the boy, he seems to have danced some sort of hornpipe after the service had entirely ended. Not understanding English, Rengifo inferred and transmitted his impression that the dance was the last part of the heretical service!

book¹? The reason why this witness had been looking at the book was to see whether it contained some words of Holy Scripture, whether our Lord Jesus Christ or His Holy Mother were mentioned therein, so that witness could know whether what the Englishmen were doing was good or evil. As the book was, however, all in the English tongue he was not able to ascertain what it contained. But he answered Francis Drake, saying "that what he had been looking at was to ascertain the signification of certain numerals that were on its front" and he asked "whether they indicated the prayers they said." It seemed to witness that the said Francis Drake was angered at having these questions addressed to him, for he did not give him any answer. But, after a little while, he said to the witness "that book is a very good book²," and, saying this, he opened it again, after having already shut it, and said to this witness: "Look at this book. You can see here those who were martyred in Castile³," and he pointed out to this

¹ "que mirava en su libro tanto?" A Spaniard would have said: "por que mirava tanto en su libro?"

² "aquel libro hera muy buen libro."

³ "le dixo a este testigo que aquel libro hera muy buen libro e diziendolo lo abrio que lo avia ya cerrado e dixo a este testigo Mira este libro, veys aqui los que an martirizado en Castilla...e dixo que hera los que avian martirizado e quemado en Castilla e mas adelante andando por el libro le enseño...atra figura que dixo hera de la helacion del santo pontifice 'y todo esto hera a lo que del entendio este testigo que no sentio bien dello'."

The foregoing description and that of the vicar Miranda (p. 348) have enabled me to identify positively the volume referred to as Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, commonly known as the *Book of Martyrs*. Three editions (those of 1563, 1570 and 1576) had been published before Drake, who is known to have been a personal friend of Foxe, started on his voyage around the world. The reproduction (Pl. XIII), from an engraving contained in the second edition of the *Book of Martyrs*, represents probably the identical picture of the Emperor kissing the foot of the Pope which was shown by Drake at Guatulco.

As a number of prints in the same edition illustrate the burning of Lutherans by the Inquisition it is impossible to identify any single one of them as that pointed out to his prisoners. The engraving (Pl. XIV) closely answers, however, to the description, although the execution depicted did not take place in Castile. In 1571, the



“THE BURNING OF THOMAS HUTTON.”

Photograph of a woodcut on p. 971, which is preceded by “A table of the Spanish Martyrs,” pp. 901—907, in Vol. II. of John Foxe’s Ecclesiasticall History. ed. John Daye, London, 1576.



“EMPEROURS KISSING THE POPE’S FEETE.”

Photograph of wood-cut on p. 759, Vol. I, of John Foxe’s Ecclesiasticall History contayning the Actes, etc., ed. John Daye, London, 1576.

witness a figure representing a fire and a man therein, and he said "that this represented those who had been martyred and burnt in Castile." Turning over the pages of the book he showed witness, further on, another picture which he said "figured the astounding [arrogance] of the Supreme Pontiff." Conjecturing from what witness understood and from his tone and mien, it seemed to him that Francis Drake did not think rightly about all this. And when he had finished reciting the psalm, Francis Drake said to the witness "You will be saying now This man is a devil, who robs by day and prays at night in public. This is what I do, but it is just as when King Philip gives a very large written paper to your Viceroy, Don Martin Enriquez, telling him what he is to do and how he is to govern, so the Queen, my Sovereign Lady, has ordered me to come to these parts. It is thus that I am acting, and if it is wrong it is she who knows best and I am not to be blamed for anything whatsoever. But I do regret to possess myself of anything that does not belong exclusively to King Philip or to Don Martin Enriquez, for it grieves me that their vassals should be paying for them. But I am not going to stop until I have collected the two millions that my cousin John Hawkins lost, for certain, at San Juan de Ulua¹."

Convocation of Canterbury had directed that copies of the book should be placed in cathedrals, churches etc. It was therefore treated by Drake as being almost canonical and the reading from it constituted a part of divine service.

Light is thrown on the friendship that existed between Foxe and Drake by a letter now kept in the British Museum which begins: "To the Reverend father in God John ffox my very good friend," and ends: "Your loving and faithfull sonne in Christ Jesus, Francis Drake."

¹ "E acabado la salma [el salmo] que los decia el dho, Francis Draque dixo a este testigo direys ahora el diablo es este hombre que de dia roba e de noche reza en publico es lo que yo hago pero porque ansi como el Rey Felipe da un papel muy grande escrito a Don Martin Enriquez Vuestro visorey por lo que a de azer e como a de govenar asi la Reyna mi Señora me da que yo venga a estas partes asi es lo que hago e si es malo hella se lo sabe e yo no tengo culpa de cosa alguna aunque dame pesame que no quiero azerlo de cosa syno que fuese del Rey Felipe e de don Martin Enriquez por padescerme que lo

Having finished this speech, he ordered this witness and the others to be put into a lock-up, with guards, and there he kept them all night until the dawn of the next day.

On Tuesday, in the afternoon, the witness begged Francis Drake again, as he had done many times previously, to set him ashore, for he had taken from him all he possessed, and he had children and a wife. Francis Drake said "that he would do so when he would take in water." On the said Tuesday, when water had been taken in, the witness said "Now that water has been obtained, do send me ashore." On Tuesday, in the afternoon, the said Francis Drake said to this witness, to Simon de Miranda, and to the Judge, that they were to go ashore, and that the boat was about to come. And the witness said "I beg your Lordship that, of the biscuit and jars of wine which were taken from my house, your Lordship order that there be given to us a hundredweight of biscuit and an earthen jar of wine, so that we shall not die of hunger on land; for the Indians have all fled to the woods, and we will not find a maize-cake¹ to eat." And Francis Drake said, with a merry countenance, "that he liked that! but that he could not give me a hundredweight of biscuit. Instead he would give me two bags of flour, two earthen jars of wine, one of oil, and two loaves of sugar, and would send all this ashore²." And thus the witness and the others got into the boat and landed and the witness understood that Francis Drake sent him all that he had promised, and that it had been taken ashore by Nuño da

paga sus vasallos e no he de cesar hasta azer dos millones que mi primo Juan de Aquines perdio en San Juan de lua e que conste."

¹ "tortilla."

² "y el dicho Francisco Draque dixo con rostro alegre que le plazio que no le podia dar un quintal de vizcocho sino me daría dos costales de harina e dos botijas de vino e una de azeite e dos panes de azucar e que el se lo enviaria a tierra...y entiende este testigo que todo lo que le prometio se lo envio...."

Silva, pilot. And he understands that the jar of oil which the said Nuño da Silva demands is that which was sent with the other things, by the said Francis Drake.

This is the truth that he knows, under the oath that he gave, and he said that he was thirty-six years of age, a little more or less, and signed this with his name.

(Signed) FRANCISCO GOMEZ RENGIFO.

DOCTOR ALÇORRIZ.

PEDRO DE HERRERA,
Public Notary.

8

A

ORDER FROM THE INQUISITOR BONILLA TO ALÇORRIZ, DEAN OF THE CATHEDRAL OF ANTEQUERA (OAXACA), TO REMOVE THE PROPERTY OF NUÑO DA SILVA FROM THE CARE OF FRANCISCO GOMEZ RENGIFO, THEN RESIDENT AT OAXACA¹.

Very Reverend Sir,

Some of your letters have been received within the last few days.....

We have received the inventory of the property of Nuño da Silva, pilot, a copy of which you will receive with this¹. Some other things have been added at the end, which have remained in the keeping of Francisco Gomez Rengifo. These are to be taken away from him at once, for his negligence deserves this. Send everything with the first

¹ According to established usage, on entering the prison of the Inquisition, Nuño da Silva was obliged to make an inventory of all his available personal property which was thereupon seized by the Holy Office and liquidated in order to pay for his necessities.

As will be seen, the Factor Rengifo observed less scrupulous care in safeguarding the contents of the pilot's chest than did the Inquisitor Bonilla in claiming them.

available muleteer, with as great security as possible, and the best of treatment so that the things should suffer no deterioration in value. Take all care of this. May Our Lord preserve your Reverend Person. From Mexico, 4th of October, 1579. At your Mercy's service,

Licentiate BONILLA.

By order of the Lords Inquisitors,

PEDRO DE LOS RIOS.

B

INVENTORY OF THE PROPERTY OF NUÑO DA SILVA,

DEC. 24TH, 1579.

The goods of Nuño da Silva, which were held by Francisco Gomez Rengifo and were delivered by him to the Rev. Dean are as follows:

One sheet.

Sixteen shirts.

Some linen breeches.

Other two sheets.

Some table-cloths.

Two pieces of cloth of natural coloured wool.

Other table-cloths.

Two white pillows.

Some linen breeches.

Some old sleeves of grey satin.

A new hat of taffeta.

Two felt hats, one old and one new.

One new satin cloak.

One old sack-coat of black cloth.

Two pairs of old white cloth stockings.

Some black cloth trousers with some violet satin.

Some grey silk stockings.

One small tin can containing a small quantity of saffron.

Some black Cordovan leggings.
Some stockings of black serge.
Two pairs of white cotton stockings.
Two thick towels.
One black knit cap.
Eight napkins.
Some black Cordovan boots.
Two other white towels.
A head cloth.
Four handkerchiefs.
A white pillow.
One white cloth.
Two other handkerchiefs.
A napkin.
Three pairs of gaiters.
One understocking of linen.
Three skeins of home-made thread.
A few red leggings for men.
A popular music-book, written in the Portuguese tongue.
Three combs.
One wooden pail.
A cloth hood.
A mould for casting bullets.
Two pairs of slippers of Cordovan leather.
A pair of scissors.
A white blanket.
A cape with two flaps.

DOCTOR ALÇORRIZ.

Two and a half yards of blue Chinese silk damask.
One cloth sack-coat.
Half a measure [of thirty-two pints] of oil.
Four head-dresses stained with saffron.
A pair of women's high boots.
The sheath for a knife.

Two towels of linen manufactured in Rouen [France] embroidered with coloured silks.

Two yards of trimming for hats.

An arquebuse and its [powder] flasks.

A breviary.

Two pounds of Spanish [Castile] soap.

Half a pound of cloves and cinnamon.

All of the above things are entered in his inventory.

CAVALLO PERATO, Prefect of Oaxaca.

Inventory of the property of the Portuguese pilot.

The goods belonging to Nuño da Silva, Portuguese, which were in charge of Francisco Gomez Rengifo, and were delivered by him to the Lord Dean are as follows:

Sixteen shirts. (The muleteer only carries twelve, no more having been forthcoming in the trunk¹.)

Two other sheets, one of homespun linen and another of.....[illegible].

Two lengths of fine linen, one of five and the other of four and a half yards.

Other table-cloths, a yard in length, of twill.

One small tin can containing a little saffron. (This is not forthcoming.)

A black knit cap. (It is of cloth.)

A white pillow. (Not forthcoming in the trunk.)

Two other kerchiefs. (Not forthcoming.)

Two handkerchiefs. (Not forthcoming.)

A napkin. (Note. Not forthcoming.)

Three combs. (Only two.)

¹ From this list I reproduce only the entries accompanied by the notes in parentheses which were added by the Dean Alcorria to the second list, sent with the goods to the Holy Office.

C

SUMMONS ISSUED TO GOMEZ RENGIFO.

In the city of Antequera, on the twenty-fourth of December of 1579, the Illustrious Sir Doctor Alcorriz, Dean of the Cathedral of this city, and Commissioner of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, having seen this inventory of the things that are said to have been left by Nuño da Silva with Francisco Gomez Rengifo over and above those that the latter delivered up, ordered that the said Francisco Gomez Rengifo appear immediately before him to make a deposition concerning these goods, and to give and deliver them under pain of major excommunication and of five hundred pesos of gold for the expenses....

And thus he sent and ordered.

(Signed) DOCTOR ALCORRIZ.

Before me,

PEDRO DE HERRERA,
Notary Public.

After the above, in the city of Antequera, on the twenty-ninth day of the said month of December of said year, I, the Notary, according to the Señor Dean Commissioner's mandate, delivered a writ to Francisco Gomez Rengifo, who immediately appeared before the Señor Dean. The latter took and received his oath by God, Holy Mary, and the words of the gospels, and the sign of the cross, on which he placed his right hand, etc....

D

DEPOSITION OF FRANCISCO GOMEZ RENGIFO ON DEC.
29TH, 1579, CONCERNING THE PROPERTY LEFT IN
HIS CHARGE.

The inventory of the said goods which Nuño da Silva declares having left in Rengifo's charge over and above

those that have been restored, was read to him so that he could depose upon oath whether he had them in his possession; or explain what he did with them. After it was read, he declared that he had kept no goods over and above those that he delivered and sent. As to the jar of oil: the said Nuño da Silva had taken it to deponent's house in the port of Guatulco and there it had been opened and the said Silva and the others who ate at deponent's table partook of it. If any of the oil remained over in the jar, it must still be there. The breviary mentioned was given by Nuño da Silva to deponent for him to transmit it to Simon de Miranda, the vicar of the port of Guatulco. As the vicar has not since returned to the port, deponent has not been able to give or send it to him, so it has remained in his charge. He will now do with it whatever he is ordered to do. About the remainder of the goods that Silva claims and wishes to have sent; Nuño da Silva made a gift of them to deponent, with two small flasks, bidding him to take them because he [Silva] had seen how the Englishmen had robbed the deponent and because deponent had entertained Silva at his table, eating and drinking, for a month and a half.

The said arquebuse is in charge of Baltazar Reyes, arquebusier, for him to sell, and as no more than four pesos have been offered for it, it has not been sold, and is still there. As to all the rest mentioned in the inventory, deponent never received nor saw them with his eyes. This is the truth under the said oath.

(Signed) FRANCISCO GOMEZ RENGIFO.

DOCTOR ALÇORRIZ.

PEDRO DE HERRERA

Notary Public.

E

RECEIPT GIVEN BY THE MULETEER ENTRUSTED WITH
THE CONVEYANCE OF NUÑO DA SILVA'S BELONG-
INGS TO THE CITY OF MEXICO.

In the city of Antequera, on the 4th of January of 1580, Francisco Gonzalez Bejarano, the muleteer of Francisco de Alvarez, a citizen and regular¹ of this city, received from the Reverend Dean Alcorriz all the things enumerated in the second inventory which he carries sealed, down to the signature of Doctor Alcorriz. What is registered below said signature has not been given to him. He has received the above-mentioned goods to carry to the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the City of Mexico, which goods are to be received there in the same condition in which they have been delivered to him here. He carries seventeen pesos for the "Fiscal²," out of the twenty which...three are to be paid him for the freight of these goods and the Fiscal is to deduct this charge from these goods.

He agrees to carry and deliver above as said and gives as security his person and belongings.

The witnesses to this agreement are the Canon Angelo and Juan Lopez del Salto and Don Mateo de Manleon. As he did not know how to sign, the said Juan Lopez del Salto signed for him at his request.

JUAN LOPEZ DEL SALTO.

DOCTOR ALCORRIZ.

In my presence,

PEDRO DE HERRERA,
Notary Public.

¹ A person who belongs to a religious order in the Roman Catholic Church.

² Keeper of the Exchequer.

F

LETTER FROM DEAN ALÇORRIZ TO THE INQUISITORS.

JAN. 4TH, 1580.

My Very Illustrious Lords,

With this are sent the belongings of this pilot and the declaration made by Francisco Gomez Rengifo about the other goods which he says remained here. Will your Lordships order what is to be done?

In the inventory were entered seventeen shirts. One of these having been entered instead of some breeches, which left sixteen shirts, it appears that now, on their being delivered, no more than twelve were forthcoming.

The four missing ones are to be paid for at 4 pesos each, this being the price at which the pilot sold the other shirts

When I moved from one house to another, the negroes must have stolen these or else we may have been mistaken at the outset. Let the pilot declare again, under oath, and I, being experienced in such matters, will pay for these shirts at the price for which the others were sold.

The inquiry which your Lordships order me to make into the crimes and insults which the Englishmen committed in Guatulco is already begun and I have been waiting for hours for Gaspar de Vargas and the Vicar Miranda. The mayor of Xochitepec, who was at that time in the port, is now in this city, in the house of Judge Miranda who passed through here without my knowing it.

May Our Lord preserve, as He alone can, the Very Illustrious Persons of your Lordships, endowing them with many spiritual and temporal riches.

In Antequera, January 4th of the year 1580.

My Very Illustrious Lords,

Your Servant, Doctor Alçorriz, kisses the hands of your Lordships.

Endorsed:

Treats of Nuño da Silva, Portuguese pilot. Received on the 23rd of January of the year 1580.

Answered on the 29th with an inventory of the other goods of the pilot which are to be collected from Rengifo, for which the Chapter (the See being vacant) is to send the usual power of attorney.

G

LETTER FROM THE INQUISITOR BONILLA TO
DEAN ALÇORRIZ.

Very Reverend Sir,

On the 23rd of this month your letter of the 4th instant was received with the goods belonging to Nuño da Silva, pilot, which Francisco Gomez Rengifo declared that he had in his keeping. Beyond a doubt he has failed to deliver those in the list which accompanies this. The lack of fidelity in his care of the things that this man [Silva] left with him is bad enough without his wishing to keep these paltry things that Silva claims.

He is therefore to be notified that he must immediately deliver the breviary and arquebuse in as good condition as when he received them, and the remainder, or their just value. If he does not do this, the Holy Office will summon him to appear before it, within a term that it will set, to present his reasons why he did not fulfil this order. About the shirts: it is certain that four are missing of those that the pilot says that he sold in this city at four and a half pesos. According to this, he should be compensated to his satisfaction...¹.

At your Reverence's service,

The Licentiate,

BONILLA.

Jan. 29, 1580.

¹ The remainder of this letter refers to other unrelated subjects and is omitted.

Over and above the goods which Francisco Gomez Rengifo has returned to Nuño da Silva, Portuguese pilot, the following have remained in the possession of the said Francisco Gomez according to the said pilot's account.

Two and a half yards of blue silk damask from China.

One cloth sack-coat.

Half a measure [32 pints] of oil.

Four head-dresses dyed with saffron.

A pair of women's high boots.

A sheath for some knives.

Two towels of Rouen linen embroidered with coloured silks.

Two yards of trimming for hats.

An arquebuse with its powder flasks.

A breviary.

Two pounds of Spanish [Castile] soap.

Half a pound of cloves and cinnamon.

H

SUMMONS TO GOMEZ RENGIFO AND HIS DEPOSITIONS, ETC.

In the city of Antequera on the 16th day of the month of February of 1580, the Illustrious Doctor Don Sancho de Alcorriz, Dean of the Cathedral of this city and Commissioner of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, said that it was expedient to know and ascertain what goods were sold in this city and elsewhere in New Spain by Nuño da Silva, pilot, as well as what linen garments, such as shirts, and other things he sold, and to whom and at what price.

Therefore he ordered Francisco Gomez Rengifo, citizen of this town, to appear before him and took his oath....

On being asked the above, deponent answered that all he knows is that, being in the port of Guatulco, he saw how the said Nuño da Silva sold to some private persons

home-made linen and holland, knives and shirts, fish-hooks and other things.

He saw him sell the shirts at a peso and a half or two pesos; which were some of the first of the shirts which Silva left in the chest which this deponent delivered to the Reverend Dean and which was taken to the Holy Office.

This is the truth, and what he knows under the oath he had taken. He declared his age to be about thirty-six years, and signed his name

FRANCISCO GOMEZ RENGIFO.

DOCTOR ALÇORRIZ.

PEDRO DE HERRERA,
Notary Public.

I

SUMMONS TO GOMEZ RENGIFO AND HIS DEPOSITIONS, ETC.

In the city of Antequera, in New Spain, on the 18th day of the month of February of 1580, the Illustrious Reverend Doctor Don Sancho de Alçorriz, Dean of the Cathedral of this city, Commissioner of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, in virtue of the writ that he has from the Apostolical Inquisitor and of the above memorandum, ordered Francisco Gomez Rengifo, citizen of the said city, to appear before him. He made him read the said memorandum and then commanded him to give and deliver to him, at once, all the things therein enumerated, so as to forward them to the Holy Office according to the order he has received.

After reading the said memorandum the said Rengifo said that, some time ago, under the oath that he had given, he had spoken and declared the truth about the goods that, according to Nuño da Silva's statement, were left in his charge, which were those that he, in turn, had delivered to

the Rev. Dean. He has already made his deposition concerning the goods mentioned in this memorandum and now he will do so again, renewing his oath, and swear that by God and Saint Mary and by the words of the gospels and the sign of the Cross his former deposition was true.

What he will now say and declare is that he never saw nor received from the said Nuño da Silva, the two and a half yards of blue damask from China, nor did the pilot give or deliver to him the cloth sack-coat mentioned in the memorandum besides that which he delivered in the chest with the other goods. As to the half measure of oil, he has already testified that Nuño da Silva gave it to him in the port of Guatulco where he and the others partook of it. If any of it remained over, it remained in the said port, as he has already explained. In reference to the three head-dresses dyed with saffron, the deponent never saw them nor knows whether Silva left them or not.

About the pair of women's high boots, this deponent ascertained, on making inquiries about them and the other things in his house, that one of his maids had been seen wearing them. As to the knife sheath that said Nuño da Silva left in the chest, the deponent delivered it with the rest and he does not know of any other. The deponent knows nothing about the two towels of Rouen linen—but if it is a kerchief of Rouen linen, of half a yard (square), the said Nuño da Silva gave it to deponent's wife without her having asked for it. If he now wants to be paid for it, deponent is ready to pay its value. As to the two yards of hat trimming he has already declared¹ that Nuño da Silva gave them to Bernardino Diaz, a servant of the deponent, for one peso, and that the said Bernardino Diaz has not been in this city for over six months and that the deponent has not collected the peso nor has Bernardino Diaz paid it.

¹ No mention of this hat trimming is made in his previous declarations.

As to the arquebuse, Nuño da Silva himself gave it to the deponent saying, "that as the Englishman had taken one belonging to the deponent, he was to have it." As it is now claimed, he gives it up and delivers it, and would have done so the first time had he understood that it had not been the said Nuño da Silva's wish to give it to him.

About the breviary left in deponent's charge, he has already declared how Silva had left it with him, to give to Simon de Miranda, vicar of the port of Guatulco. He has not done so because he has not gone to the port. As he has it in his charge, he now gives and delivers it, begging that they will take care to prevent his being blamed by Simon de Miranda, to whom he had written that he would take him the breviary and who will surely claim it from him. About the two pounds of soap mentioned in the memorandum, the deponent never saw nor received them; and as to the half pound of cinnamon and cloves, having made fresh inquiries about them in his house, his wife told him that the said Nuño da Silva, whilst packing his clothes in a trunk, came out of his room with a paper in his hand and said: "Take, Madam, these cloves, which are good for the womb"¹..., and thus he had given them to her. But now, as Silva claims them, deponent will see how much his wife used of this spice. He wishes to pay for what was used and avoid vexation.

This being the whole truth, he signed it,

FRANCISCO GOMEZ RENGIFO.

DOCTOR ALÇORRIZ.

PEDRO DE HERRERA,
Notary Public.

Then the said Rev. Dean and Commissioner, in view of the said Francisco Gomez Rengifo's declaration, received and took charge of the arquebuse and breviary of the

¹ The Spanish text has "madre" = mother, also womb.

Council of Trent, printed in Paris in the year 1572. As to the other things which Rengifo admits as having been in his house or in his care, namely, a handkerchief given to his wife and the high boots which were found in the possession of one of his maids, he is to pay in kind, if not in money, as follows :

For the pair of women's boots,	one peso,
For the embroidered towel,	one and a half peso,
For the half pound of cloves and cinnamon,	six tomines,

which he is either to give or pay at once so that the value may be sent with the said arquebuse and breviary to the Holy Office of the Inquisition, lest he should incur a heavy fine from the treasury ; adding four pesos for the expenses of the Holy Office.

Being notified of this, the said Francisco Gomez said that, to avoid vexation, and on account of the foreclosure that is forced upon him, he is ready to pay at once the three pesos and six tomines. He was ordered to do so, and immediately paid the aforesaid sum to the Rev. Dean who received it, to send it with the said arquebuse and breviary, as well as the amount for the conveyance of the same.

(Signed) FRANCISCO GOMEZ RENGIFO.

DOCTOR ALÇORRIZ.

Endorsed (Received on the 20th of March, 1580).

J

LETTER FROM DEAN ALÇORRIZ TO THE INQUISITORS.

Very Illustrious Sirs,...

I ordered Francisco Gomez Rengifo to appear before me and he again declared what accompanies this. Your Lordships may rest assured that he is held to be an upright man and as such he is specially entrusted with

the command of the negroes of the port of Guatulco. As what Nuño da Silva claims are but trifles and Gomez Rengifo is not a man to try to keep them without delivering them or paying their value, I send you the arquebuse and breviary and three pesos and two testones, which is the value of what he confesses having had in his charge. It seems to me that, with your permission, he need not be sent to appear before your Lordships.

I am also sending you a deposition by Miranda [the vicar], about the abuses which, as I have informed your Lordships, the Corsairs committed in the port. Miranda, one of the prisoners taken to the ship, is in this city, and can be communicated with at the house of Judge Miranda, who is responsible for him.

The testimony is of one who was an actual eye-witness to what the Chief Alcalde [Gaspar de Vargas] did not see, as the latter sought shelter¹.

Enclosed is a bill of exchange for Juan de Monsalla Cabeça de Vaca to give your Lordships what seems expedient for the four missing shirts.

If your Lordships should order that those that are there be sold at auction, at the price at which the others were sold, one could make the payment of those that were lost here. At all events, enclosed is Francisco Gomez Rengifo's declaration about the price at which some of the shirts were sold in the port. Notwithstanding this, twenty pesos are enclosed, so that your Lordships can do what seems best and give contentment to that good man².

I made this inquiry so as to ascertain the truth. If the shirts had been sold here I could have given more

¹ Spanish text has "se acogio."—Vicar Miranda's testimony, here referred to, is lost, but see his deposition, p. 347.

² It would appear as though it were the pilot who is thus kindly referred to by Doctor Alcorriz, notwithstanding the knowledge that he was being held a prisoner at the Holy Office.

information about them—but he sold them in the port where this could be done to a greater advantage than here.

In Antequera,

Feb. 21, 1580.

DOCTOR ALÇORRIZ.

9

A

LETTER FROM THE INQUISITORS OF MEXICO TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF GUATEMALA REQUESTING HIM TO OBTAIN THE TESTIMONY OF ANY PERSONS WHO HAD BEEN TAKEN PRISONERS BY DRAKE, AS AN INVESTIGATION WAS PENDING AGAINST NUÑO DA SILVA.

To the Very Reverend Lord Diego de Carvajal, Archbishop of Guatemala, Commissioner of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, Guatemala. (Answered on the 26th of April, 1580¹.)

Very Reverend Lord,

...We have been informed that it is possible that in your country there may be some of the persons who were taken prisoners in the South Sea by Francis Drake, English Corsair, and then released. If you should find any of these, it would be very important to examine them, employing the list of questions contained in the instructions that you have for the taking of testimonies. He should be asked, in particular, whether, having been taken prisoner, at sea, by any Lutheran Corsair, he had

¹ This letter was bound, by mistake, and upside down, between pp. 115 and 116 of the Proceso against Juan de Baca, in vol. 125 of Inquisition documents, National Archives, City of Mexico.

observed the crew of the fleet or any other persons either English, French, Flemish, Spanish or Portuguese, who came in it, doing or saying anything against Our Holy Catholic Faith and Evangelical Faith, such as is preached and taught by the Holy Mother Church of Rome.

Obtain special information about the persons who were with the Englishman and did not belong to his English crew. Inquire whether such persons or any one such person were observed doing or saying anything of the aforesaid quality or joining the Englishmen in their sermons and prayers or litanies, communions and other ceremonies pertaining to their religion and sect.

As the Señor Presidente will be notified he can assist in obtaining the depositions of the witnesses. It is since we received a letter from him that we have entertained some suspicions that Nuño da Silva, a Portuguese who came with the said Corsair and is being held by us here, used to take part in the ceremonies performed by the said Corsair.

It is against this Portuguese that this investigation is to be made and its result is to be sent to us with all dispatch, or a report of what has been done in the matter. The original of this letter is to be returned as a heading. May Our Lord guard you, etc.

In Mexico, January 30th, 1580.

The letters which accompany this contain the same subject-matter, and are to be sent on quickly to Nicaragua, to the Licentiate Palacios.

At Your Mercy's service,

(Signed) LICENTIAE BONILLA.

By the order of the
Lord Inquisitor.

B

UNSIGNED AND SEALED PORTION OF A LETTER SENT TO THE INQUISITOR BONILLA BY THE VICEROY MARTIN ENRIQUEZ EXPRESSING HIS FRESHLY AWAKENED SUSPICIONS OF NUÑO DA SILVA.

In Mexico, Thursday, February 18th of the year 1580, this sealed portion of a letter was delivered to the Inquisitor Councillor Bonilla from the Viceroy Don Martin Enriquez, by one of the latter's pages.

Copy of an extract of a letter.

"Before I left the fortress of Acaxutla for this place a vessel from Peru arrived carrying many passengers, amongst them a Dominican friar who called himself Friar Alonso de la Cerda, who comes as Bishop of Honduras. He says that the Viceroy of Peru sent two very well ordered ships to the Strait with orders that one was to pass through it and go to Spain to render an account of the Strait and of its navigation, and that the other was to return to His Excellency¹.

"It is held to be certain that the Corsair left, at the mouth of the Strait, at the other side, a number of workmen, smiths and carpenters, who are working and fortifying themselves, and that those of Brasil had received notice of this and armed themselves and fell upon them and beheaded them all²."

This part of a letter makes me even more suspicious of this Señor. It would be well to ask him some further questions and I do not know whether it would not be best to do so here³.

¹ This refers to the voyage to the Strait of Magellan by the Captain Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, the narratives of which were published by Sir Clements R. Markham, Hakluyt Society, vol. xci.

² This was a false report.

³ The "Señor" alluded to (according to the custom of never mentioning the names of prisoners of the Inquisition) was Nuño da

C

EXAMINATION, BY THE INQUISITORS, OF NUÑO DA SILVA,
CONCERNING THE SAFE-CONDUCTS GIVEN BY FRAN-
CIS DRAKE TO CAPTAIN SAN JUAN DE ANTÓN AND
DON FRANCISCO DE ZARATE¹.

In the City of Mexico, on the twenty-first day of the month of May, of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty, the Inquisitor Bonilla, counsellor-at-law, holding his morning session, ordered that the said Nuño da Silva was to be brought before him, and when present, questioned him whether the said Francis Drake gave to the ships he plundered and released safe-conducts addressed to the other vessels of his fleet which he said remained behind. He answered that Francis Drake had given safe-conducts to the Nao Rica (whose Captain, he understood, was named San Juan Anton, and was a native of Biscay) as well as to the ship of Don Francisco de Zarate. He does not know whether Francis Drake gave any others. He saw how Francis Drake had these two safe-conducts written for him in the cabin, at the poop, and how he signed them, for it was in the presence of this witness that they were given to Francis Drake to sign and he signed them.

Questioned whether in the said safe-conducts Francis Drake gave the names of the captains and commanders of the other English ships. He answered that he did not know, but that Señor Juan de Anton would know about it because he had been brought up in England and spoke

Silva, of whom the Viceroy had already expressed his "suspicions," as an agent of Drake, in his letter to King Philip II. The Viceroy evidently wished to be present at the re-examination of the prisoner.

¹ This examination of Nuño da Silva took place four days after document 2, Part I, had been received in Mexico from Peru and been copied by Perez (see pp. 12 and 15).

English and had always spoken with the Englishmen in that language¹.

Questioned whether the other captains of the other vessels also stated, like the said Francis Drake, that they came by order and command of the Queen. He answered that Francis Drake and all his men said so, and that in Abra de Islas where they wintered, when he beheaded the said English gentleman, who was named Master Doughty, the said Master Doughty challenged him to show whence and by what power he could behead him, and that then the said Francis Drake assembled all his men, without omitting a single one. Placing himself in a more elevated position than the others, he took out some papers, kissed them, put them on his head, and read them in a loud voice. After reading them he showed them to the others and all saw and inspected them². After the head had been severed, he took the head in his hand, showed it and then cast it away, saying, "Long live the Queen of England³." All present said that those papers were his and from her and

¹ This information about the Biscayan Captain of the treasure-ship, whose name is recorded as San Juan de Anton or de Antona, in connection with the fact that the Spanish name for the English port of Southampton as given in a number of contemporary documents was Anton or Antona, renders it not impossible that while the name San Juan was the equivalent of the familiar English name St John, the appellation de Anton was a sobriquet designating him as "of Southampton" in allusion to his early association with England.

² "Dixo que Francisco Draque y todos lo decian y quando en Abra de Islas donde invernaron cortó la cabeza al ingles caballero que tiene dicho que se decia Mastredothé, el dicho Mastredothé le dixo que le enseñase por donde y con que poder se la podía cortar y que entonces el dicho Francisco Draque junto toda su gente que no quedo ninguno y poniendose el mas alto que los demas saco unos papeles y los besó y puso sobre su cabeza y los leyó en voz alta y despues de leídos los enseñó a los demas y todos los vieron y miraron y todos allí decian que aquellos papeles eran suyos della con cuya autoridad hacia aquello y la jornada."

³ "Y cortada la cabeza la tomó en la mano y la enseñó y luego la arrojó diciendo 'viva la Reina de Inglaterra.'" Compare "...and so byddyng the hole company farewell he [Master Dowghtye] layde his heade to the bloke, the which being stricken of, [Drake] moaste despightfully made the head to be taken up and shewed to the hole company, himselfe sayenge 'Loo, this is the end of traytors'"

that it was, with her authority that he was executing [Doughty] and making the voyage.

Questioned whether Francis Drake brought with him any illustrious gentlemen who had been employed by the Queen in her service as captains and generals of her navy. He answered that the Admiral he brought was a son of the Lord High Admiral of England¹, and was called Master Winter. He was the captain of the *Almiranta*². Another retainer of the Queen also came with Francis Drake but he cannot remember his name. He died of an illness off the coast of Chile.

The names of the Englishmen mentioned in the safe-conduct which is filed in these records, having been repeated to him, he said that he did not know any of them, excepting Thomas who had come in the smallest ship of the three that had passed out of the Strait. This Thomas had often served as a captain on ships sailing to Guinea and to China and knew that country very well and also spoke the Spanish language.

With this the audience closed and he was sent back to his prison.

Before me,

PEDRO DE LOS RIOS.

(John Cooke, Appendix IV, Vaux, *World Encompassed*, p. 210). Attention is drawn to the fact that if the comma is placed after, instead of before, the word "himself" the sentence would read "and shewed to the hole company himselfe sayenge etc." and would agree with da Silva's express statement that Drake himself showed Doughty's head.

Nuño da Silva's testimony, however, disproves the account given by the Spanish Ambassador Mendoza who, quoting John Winter as authority, wrote to King Philip II "that as no one wished to carry out the sentence, Drake himself was the executioner, cutting off the condemned man's head with his own hands." See Froude, *Hist. of Engl.*, vol. xi; *Reign of Elizabeth*, vol. v. Fletcher actually mentions "the executioner" whom Doughty "willed to do his office" (Vaux, p. 67).

¹ "Dixo que el Almirante que traia era hijo del Almirante mayor de Ingalaterra." This was an erroneous statement, see p. 17.

² Here as elsewhere the term Admiral designates the second in command (the Captain being the first) and the Admiral's ship *Almiranta* the second ship (the *Capitana* being the flagship).

Extract from the original records of the trial of the said Nuño da Silva, which are preserved in the secret chamber of the Inquisition in the City of Mexico, on the 1st day of the month of June of 1580, copied by me, Pedro de los Rios, Secretary of the Inquisition¹.

D

LETTER FROM INQUISITOR BONILLA TO THE COUNCIL
OF THE INQUISITION IN SPAIN.

To the very illustrious members of the Council of the Holy General Inquisition.

Very Illustrious Sirs,

Nuño da Silva, the Portuguese pilot of the English Corsair, is detained in this Holy Office without any new development in his case. Nor is there news of the Corsair. But through letters from Spain it is held to be certain that his Admiral arrived in England having parted in a storm immediately after they had passed through the Strait.

From Peru they have sent here a safe-conduct that he [Francis Drake] gave to one of the ships that he plundered, and in order to see whether it was genuine and whether the men whose names it contains remained in the ships he left behind, this pilot was examined, but the safe-conduct was not shown him. He agrees in stating that both Winter and Thomas were the commanders of their respective vessels.

¹ The fact that the main part of the Proceso against da Silva was kept in the secret Archives of the Inquisition accounts for its destruction; the only portions which survive being the stray fragments I found, all of which contain subject-matter which also pertained to the jurisdiction of the civil authorities in Mexico and Spain.

It has seemed expedient to send [the foregoing documents] so that your lordships should know all that this pilot has declared.

Mexico, 4th of November, 1580.

The Councillor-at-law,

BONILLA.

E

LETTER FROM INQUISITOR BONILLA TO THE COUNCIL OF THE INQUISITION.

Very Illustrious Lords,

...It has been agreed that the Portuguese pilot, Nuño da Silva, is to be taken to Peru by the Viceroy Don Martin Enriquez for some purpose of going back to navigate through the Strait again....

Mexico, 16th of December, 1580.

The Councillor BONILLA,

The Councillor SANTOS GARCIA.

To the very illustrious lords of the Council of the Holy General Inquisition.

F

LETTER FROM INQUISITOR BONILLA TO THE COUNCIL OF THE INQUISITION.

The [newly appointed] Viceroy of Peru, Don Martin Enriquez, had resolved to take with him Nuño da Silva, the Portuguese pilot imprisoned in this Holy Office, for purposes that, he said, might present themselves pertaining to the service of His Majesty.

After having agreed that the Viceroy was to take him, as we wrote on the 16th of this month, and dictated the

letter of the Holy Office to that effect, there supervened fresh information of Nuño da Silva's guilt in temporal and spiritual matters pertaining to religion.

On this account and because more information is expected from persons who were held as prisoners by the Englishman for some time, it is necessary to substantiate matters and make fresh investigations.

This cannot be done in the short time in which the Viceroy is preparing for his voyage, because, in this country, the distance between one place and another is great. Besides, taking a fresh look at this man, with suspicion of bad faith, it would seem as though he were not to be trusted with anything relating to navigation until time uncovers more of the truth. For he held much intimate intercourse with the Englishman on this subject. For this reason the departure of this pilot for Peru must be delayed for the present.

This was also the opinion of the Count de Coruña, the Viceroy of this New Spain, when the affair was communicated to him. We believe that the Viceroy of Peru, to whom we are writing accordingly, will take the same view.

May Our Lord preserve the very illustrious persons of your Lordships for many years and may you prosper in His service.

Mexico, December 24th, 1580¹.

¹ This letter, the two preceding ones, D and E, as well as the original of document C, are preserved in the *Archivo de Simancas*. (Inquisición, Mexico, 1579 and 1580.)

IX

ENGLISH OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE MERCHANDISE ON NUÑO DA SILVA'S SHIP WHICH WAS SEIZED BY DRAKE¹

I

LETTER FROM DOCTOR LEWES, JUDGE OF THE ADMIRALTY,
TO THE LORDS OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH'S
PRIVY COUNCIL, TO ASCERTAIN THEIR PLEASURE
WHETHER THE PORTUGUESE MERCHANDISE, TAKEN
FROM NUÑO DA SILVA'S SHIP, THE SANTA MARIA, BY
FRANCIS DRAKE AND BROUGHT BACK TO ENGLAND
BY JOHN WINTER IS TO BE DELIVERED TO THE
PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR, WHO WAS CLAIMING ITS
RESTITUTION, JUNE, 1580².

My dewtie unto yo^r good ll^e moste humblye remembred. It
maye like the same to be adv^{is}ed that where the Portingall
embassado^r here resydent hathe ben heretofor a suter unto her
Mat^{ie} for restitu^{ti}on to be made into his possession of suche good^e
and wares as John Winter brought hither wth him at his arryvall
from the Indias beinge taken from Portingall in that voyage by
Drake and his companye, the matter beinge referred by her Mat^{ie}
to M^r Secretarye Wilson, his hono^r dyd by his l^res referr the same
to me. And after I had well understood the peti^{ti}on and offre of

¹ "On the south-west of this island we took a Portugall laden the
best part with wine and much good cloth both linnen and woollen,
besides other necessities, bound for Brazill, with many gentlemen
and marchants in her" (Francis Fletcher, Vaux, p. 23). See the more
detailed statement quoted in note 1, p. 276.

² Public Record Office, London: *State Papers, Domestic Series*,
Elizabeth, vol. 139, No. 5.

the sayde embassador I dyd acqueinte yo^r ll^e therewth and it seamed then unto yo^r ll^e convenyent that if John Winter w^{ould}e pretende no intereste or title to the same, the sayde embassador might have the sayde good^e upon caution to save her Ma^{tie}, the sayde Winter, and other her highnes subjecte harmeles ageinste the K of Portingall and his subject^e, and all other pretendinge righte thereto. Whereupon I wrotte my l^res to George Winter father of the sayde John Winter signifyinge so muche unto him, who by his l^res hathe returned answer unto me that he in the behalfe of his sonne is content to yelde to any order towchinge the sayde good^e that yo^r ll^e shall thincke good to be taken. And nowe the sayde embassador dothe not ceasse to call upon me to have the possession of the sayde good^e upon his owne only caution to the effecte aforesayde wthout any suertes for that he pretendethe that her Ma^{tie} was pleased wth his owne bonde whereof I thought it my dewtye to make yo^r ll^e p^rivey besechinge moste humblye the same to dyrecte yo^r pleasures therein to me, whereby I maye the better satisfye the importunitye of the sayde embassador. And if it shall seame good to yo^r ll^e that the sayde good^e be redelyv^d to his possession then it maye please yo^r ll^e to addresse yo^r l^res to the Maio^r of Bristowe to cause one Thomas Parker of Bristowe in whose hand^e the sayde good^e do remayne to delyver the same accordinge to suche order and processe as shalbe dyrected o^{ut} of this courte. And so I moste humblye leve yo^r good ll^e to the tui^{on} of the everlastinge Lorde.

From tharches in London this 3 of June 1580.

Yo^r good ll^e most humble at cōmawndement,

DA : LEWES.

[Addressed] To the right hon^{or}able his singuler good Lorde
the Lorde of her Ma^{te} p^rivey Counsaile.

[Endorsed] June 3 1580, ll^e.

From y^e Judge of y^e Admiralty to know their ll^e pleasure whether y^e Portugals good^e brought into this realme by John Wynter shalbe redelyvered to y^e Portugal Ambassador and in what sorte.

2

A

COMMISSION OUT OF THE COURT OF ADMIRALTY, SIGNED BY QUEEN ELIZABETH, GRANTED TO THE PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR, DON ANTONIO DE CASTILLO, FOR THE RECOVERY OF THE REMAINDER OF THE MERCHANTS TAKEN BY FRANCIS DRAKE FROM THE SANTA MARIA, NUÑO DA SILVA'S SHIP, OFF CAPE VERDE—SAID REMAINDER HAVING BEEN BROUGHT BACK TO ENGLAND BY CAPTAIN JOHN WINTER ON THE "ELIZABETH."

THE COMISSION OUT OF THE COURT OF THE ADMIRALTIE GRANTED TO D. ANTONIO DE CASTILLA FOR YE RESTITUTION OF A SHIPPE & GOODS TAKEN AT YE SEAS BY S^R FRA: DRAKE¹.

Edward East of Lincoln, Baron of Clinton and Say, Knight of the noble order of the Garter, Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland and Wales and of the dominions and islands thereof, of the city of Calais and the marches thereof, of Normandy, Gascony and Aquitaine, and Commander-in-Chief of the fleet and seas of the said realms of England and Ireland, to our well-beloved Thomas Packer of the city of Bristol merchant, greeting. Whereas certain goods and especially those amongst others which are contained in the schedule annexed to these presents, at some previous time piratically taken on the seas by Francis Drake and his accomplices and thereafter conveyed by John Winter to this realm and now committed and sequestrated into your hands and custody, by command and order of our most Serene Lady the Queen are to be surrendered and delivered to the honourable Antonio de Castiglo, Councillor in the Council of State of Portugal, and at the present time Petitioner before the said Royal Majesty (under bail by him furnished); you therefore on the part of our said Lady the Queen and on our own part we enjoin and command that on the sight of these presents you fail not for any liberty or

¹ Public Record Office. *State Papers, Domestic Series*. Elizabeth, vol. 139, No. 24. The original is in Latin.

franchise without delay, by means of an inventory or indentures to be drawn up between you and the recipient, effectually to surrender and deliver as well the goods contained in the said schedule as all and singular the others which were brought by the said John Winter to this realm, or at least such as are in your custody, to the bearer of these presents in the name and for the use of the said Petitioner empowered by him thereto. And thereupon you shall certify us as early as possible. And you shall in no wise fail in this under the prescribed pain and penalty. Given at London in the Supreme Court aforesaid under our great seal on the seventeenth day of the month of June in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and eighty and in the twenty-second year of the reign of our most Serene Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

B

DECLARATION MADE BY CAPTAIN JOHN WINTER ABOUT
NUÑO DA SILVA'S SHIP AND HER CARGO¹.

ANNO DNI 1579. A DECLARAÇON MADE BY ME JOHN WINTER
OF A SHIPPE TAKEN BY FRAUNCE DRAKE CAPTAYNE AND
GENALL OF FYVE SHIPPS AND BARKÈ BOUNDE FOR THE
PARTÈ OF AMERICA FOR DISCOVERY AND OTHER CAUSES
OF TRADE OF MCHANDIZES NECESSARY AND REQUISITE².

Firste the sayde John Winter sayethe that uppon the coaste of Affrica nere unto certayne Ilande of Cabo Verde the sayd Fraunce Drake by him selfe and others by his power and forceable commaundemente dyd take a certayne Portugall Shippe wherein weare certayne Madera wynes and what other goodè he knowethe not

And after the takinge of the sd Shippe he the sayd Drake dyde putte the men alande in a Pinnas and carryed awaye the wynes withe the Shippe for the releif and mantenaunce of him selfe and

¹ Public Record Office. *State Papers, Domestic Series*. Elizabeth, vol. 139, 24, 1. Endorsed "The confession of Jo. Winter concerning the same prise."

² Special attention is drawn to the important evidence indirectly furnished by the above statement, as to the main object of Drake's voyage being "discovery."

companye beinge bente uppon a long viadge of two years as he sayde, and as it was then supposed¹, the takinge of whiche shippe I protest was utterly contrary to my good will whiche I could not lette nor gaynesaye, for that I had noe aucthority ther, but suche as pleased the sayde Drake, to give and take awaye from me att his will and pleasure, and being in greate feare of my liffe yf I shoulde have contraryed him or gone aboute to practisse to withstande him in any parte of this his doeinge, he woulde have punished me by deathe, for that his worde and threateninge many tymes tended there unto by open spetches as by example of a gentellman whome he executed afterwarde And for that I was there withe the sayd Drake where noe Justice woulde be heard, was inforced to contente my selfe withe scilence, And nowe that I am come to place of Justice² I doe her maniste [manifest?] and declare of certayne

¹ Attention is drawn to this indirect evidence which establishes that Drake, at the outset, had planned for a voyage of two years' duration; a term he exceeded by nine and a half months.

² In connection with the above complaint against Drake it should be remembered that, according to John Cooke (Vaux, p. 214), after the death of Doughty, Drake gave evidence of his distrust of John Winter by discharging him of "his captayneship of the *Elizabeth*," after commanding the steward of the *Elizabeth* to "lay down the key of the rome, which he dyd." Before reinstating Winter and the masters of the other ships in their former offices, Drake addressing them stated that "there be heare that have deserved as much as he" [Doughty]. That Drake's mistrust was justified is proven by John Winter's voluntary abandonment of the voyage.

Edward Cliffe who returned on the *Elizabeth* states that their voyage was given over "by M. Winter's compulsion, full sore against the mariner's minds, who alleged he stood in dispaire as well to have winds to serve his turne for Peru as also of M. Drake's safetie" (Vaux, p. 281). John Cooke writes that for the return voyage "I think our Captayne Master Wynter wyll answer, who toke the peryll on him" (Vaux, p. 218).

Fletcher in the *World Encompassed* relates how the *Golden Hind* "...lost the company and sight of...the *Elizabeth*, partly through the negligence of those that had charge of her, partly through a kind of desire that some in her had to be out of these troubles and to be at home againe; which (as since is knowne) they thenceforward by all means essayed and performed. For the very next day, Oct. 8,... they returned backe the same way by which they came forward and... arrived in England June 2 the yeare following" (Vaux, p. 84).

A copy of the above declaration inspired by hostility towards Drake, was evidently placed in the eager hands of Ambassador Mendoza who, in his "Answer" which is discussed in Part XIII, utilizes it as follows: "Young Winter's report of his [Drake's] spoils done upon the Portugals on his way out; the interest and right of which is now come to the King [of Spain who had succeeded to the

goode put into the sayd Shippe by the ſd Drake wherin I was by the ſd Drake appointemente and by his commaundemente, but howe or where he had the sayde goode I knowe not Notwithstandinge I doe here notifie unto this courte and you the Judge therof, that I dyd never give my consente or allowaunce any waye to the takinge of any shippe or goode unlawfully and that my simple and trewe meaninge is to intimate the parcells followinge, to thende that the trewe owners and proprietaries of the same when any shall appeare and make prouffe maye be answered trewly and justly of that whiche dothe apperteayne justly to any man, and of that whiche was bestowed bye the sayd Fraunce Drake in the shippe wherof I was captayne, and that order maye be taken therein as to this Courte shalbe thoughte mett and conveniente, the pticulers of whiche goode be as followethe

A not of suche thinge by estimaçon as weare put into the Elizabethe att Porte Ste Julian by the commaundemente of Fraunce Drake, the whiche was receaved of the Company without inventory or any other remembraunce in writinge

Imprimis one Cheste full of narrowe Portugall Canvas of quarter of yeard brode

Item ij Cheste and a quarter of Linnen Cloathe wherof by estimaçon weare lxxxv remnante beside soe muche course threde as filled one Quarter of a Cheste

Item one other Cheste wherein weare nette and vij or viij rowles of narrowe Portugall Canvas

Item one Cheste wherein was aboute the number of x or a xj dozen of Cordevane skines three rapiers a nette withe corke and Stones of Slate there att, and two dosen of Hatte

Item one Cheste withe fishe hooke and Combes

Item one Cheste withe nayles

Item one fyrkyn¹ withe Bilhooke, knives and Cissers, whe was spoyled withe ruste

Crown of Portugal] is enough to prove his piracy and to demand justice." (*Cal. State Papers, Foreign Series*, El., Oct. 29, 1580, 474.)

It is significant that when John Winter had come to what he terms above a "place of Justice" he was sentenced to be hanged and that he was saved from this fate by the intercession of Drake whom he had accused of injustice. (See John Drake's testimony, p. 27.)

¹ A firkin is a measure equal to the fourth part of a barrel.

Item xvij remnant^e of kersey, Brode cloathe and Bayes and in one of the same remnant^e was founde a dozen of redde skynes

Item x butte of Canary wyne and thirty sixe Jarres of Oyle

An answer howe the forsayde pcells weare imployed, and whate remayneth to his remembraunce

Because our sayles throughe over longe beinge att the Seas, weare almoste utterly decayed we weare constreaynd for saveing of the Shippe and o^r lyves¹ to make withe the sayd canvas a newe mayne toppe sayle a drabler for the mayne course and a bonnet for the for sayle, and the greatest parte of the mayne course beside crosse byndeing of all our oulde Sayles and pcelling of the Gunns rome withe other places of the Shippe

And alsoe one pece of the same Canvas given unto a poore man uppon the coaste of Englande aswell for enforminge us of the prosperity of the Queenes Ma^{ty} and other our frend^e as alsoe for releveinge us wthe some of his victualls, the reste beinge aboute viij boult^e remayneth aborde the Shippe Att Ste Vincente uppon the coaste of Basill² in hoppe to be releived withe victualls and others necessaryes, I gave unto the holly Fathers and others about vij or viij peces of Linnen cloathe, I dyd alsoe bestowe fower boult^e about the makinge of our Pinnas sayles viz^t a forsayle a mayne sayle and a Sprite Sayle, and alsoe for makinge an Awninge for the defendinge of our people from the sonne, and likewise dyd bestowe three or fower peces uppon those that sayled in the Pinnas to make them apparrell because they weare alwayes subjecte to the weather. And more delyvered unto one Whithorne an Englishman dwellinge att Ste Vincente aboute seven or eyghte peces of Linnen cloathe aswell because I woulde understande the state of the Countrey and disposition of the people, as alsoe to be releived withe suche victualls as he by any meanes myghte healpe me unto but for w^{an}te of the same I was constreayned to take his bill, to be payde att

¹ John Winter, after censuring Drake for seizing them, acknowledges here and in the passages which follow, how the "goods" were the means of saving his ship and her crew and were freely used by him for a variety of purposes connected with "the supplying of his own wants."

For further recognition of how much the contents of da Silva's ship contributed to the success of the voyage, see note 1, p. 276.

² Brazil.

the hande of Botulphe Houlder in Luxborne. And because thapparell of my company was soe worne and consumed that almoste they had noethinge for the greateste parte, to cover them And therefore by thappointment of Mr Drake gave them from tyme to tyme certayne linnen cloathe to apparell them withe all in the whiche maye be consumed by estimaçon xxv peces

And more over there was sould attehome in the presence of John Awdeley and John Saracolde aswell for the pvidinge of victualls there for suche as remayned aborde as alsoe for relievinge diverse of my companye withe redy money and bearinge of their chardge to London and other places, beside the supplyeing of my owne wante, soe muche linnen cloathe as maye amounte unto xxx^{ti}, the residewe beinge aboute thirty three peces of the beste sorte remaynethe aborde the Shippe, the nette weare rotten and noethinge worthe, and therefore caste over borde, and the Canvas for the moste parte spoyled withe misse and ratte, the reste imployed for necessary uses aboute the Sayles

The Cordevane skinnies for the moste parte remaynethe aborde the Shippe, the residewe the companye had, for the making of shoes and other necessarye uses, the Rapiers remaynethe aborde, the nette being rotten was caste over borde And the hatte weare distributed amongeste the company beinge mothe eaten and of noe valewe

The cheste wth the fishehooke and Combes for the moste parte remaynethe, and the residewe weare given awaye amongeste the Savidge people of the countrey there, for diverse sorte of frute and other victualls they broughte aborde. The moste parte of the Nayles weare used aboute the makinge of a newe Pinnas, and other nedfull uses aboute the Shipps, the residewe remaynethe Item parte of the Billhooke knives and sissors being corrupted withe ruste weare given to the forsd Whithorne, and the reste remaynethe

Item parte of the brode cloathe kersey and bayes was distributed amongeste the company, parte of it given awaye att S^{te} Vincente, to some of th inhabitante there parte sould there for victualls, parte of it I used for the makinge of a goune for my selfe, a Jerkyn, a payre of breches and a cloake, the residewe beinge aboute xij or xiiij yearde in remnant remaynethe aborde the shippe

Item 3 of the redde skinnies I gave unto the governour of the countrey att S^{te} Vincente in hoppe of friendshippe, two of them

to Whitehorne one of them to one Peter Martyn and the reste remayneth

The wyne and oyle was spent and consumed for our relives.

Our water caske being decayed we weare dryven of necessity to take the linnen out of the Chest and to fill the ſd Chest with pease, as I dyd the Chest of the company, that there by we mighte use the pease barrells for water caske where of we had greate nede, without the whiche we had not bene able to have lived, and in taking out of the same linnen we founde diverse peces to be rotten and noe thinge worthe

A note of suche good as remayneth and are yet forthcominge put on borde the Shippe the Elizabethe wher in I served by appointement of Captayne Drake

Item in linen cloathe 33 peces in a greate cheste

Item 10 dozen of Cordevane skynnes

Item 8 or 9 peces of Portugall canvas being narrowe of one quarter of a yearde brode or there aboute as it will appeare by an inventory taken by S^r Arthure Bassett and S^r Richard Grenfeilde, Justice of Peace

Item the sayd Fraunce Drake toke a Shippe called a Canter, and dyd delyver in recompense thereof one barke called the Benedicke¹.

APPENDIX TO PART IX

NOTE.

John Winter's inventory reveals what a small and damaged remainder of the Santa Maria's once valuable cargo was restored to Don Antonio de Castillo.

It is therefore obvious that, after Drake's return, a suit for compensation of losses and damage must have been instituted by the Portuguese who had chartered da Silva's vessel.

The only document that I have been able to find relating to such a suit is a letter written by Don Antonio de Castillo, the

¹ Fletcher describes the *Cantera* (a vessel of about 40 tons, which was subsequently called the *Christopher*) as an "old ship," in exchange of which Drake gave "our new pinnace built at Mogadore,"... "called the *Benedicte*..." (Vaux, pp. 27 and 189), the first set up "of the four brought from home in peices with us" (Vaux, p. 10).

Portuguese Ambassador, to Secretary Walsingham on May 29, 1582¹, the same year in which Nuño da Silva, liberated by the inquisitors of Mexico, sailed from New to Old Spain.

It is an interesting and possibly not entirely unrelated fact that in this identical year Drake developed a great activity in "inaugurating a Portuguese policy" and supporting Don Antonio de Portugal's claim to the Portuguese crown against that which was more successfully asserted by Philip II².

The Portuguese Ambassador's letter reads :

"I arrived betimes at this port of Plymouth, where it was of such importance to me to be recognised by Sir Francis Drake as in your service. It would be great ingratitude on my part not to beg you to set to his account his courtesy and kindness, with the welcome which he gave me, seeing that I have not, as you will have, the power of doing him a service. It is for you to show him that this office [? letter] was most grateful to him. Among other favours which I obtained from him, besides the safety of my journey, he promised to settle a certain suit that there is between himself and a Portuguese in such a way that there may be no need to talk of counsel and judges. The attorney (*procuratore*) for the Portuguese is Antonio Gothard, a servant of yours, to whom both on account of his Portuguese origin, and for the welcome he gave me, I am under great obligation. Please show him favour in anything that comes his way, both as a familiar of your house, and as a Lisbon friend of mine.

"I will do this duty more freely. At present I have bad writing materials."

In the absence of all proof to the contrary, and in the face of Drake's attitude towards Portugal at that time, it is reasonable to infer that sooner or later he must have discharged with even more than his wonted generosity his immense obligation to Nuño da Silva, not only for valuable services rendered, but for the use of his ship and its cargo which Fletcher declared to have been "the life of the voyage, the neck whereof otherwise had been broken for the shortness of our provisions³."

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series*, No. 56.

² See Corbett's *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, vol. i, p. 326 et seq.

³ Sloane MS., Vaux, p. 22.

Navegacion del Estrecho

nuño de silva capitán

19

Deflexiontras delas p^{as}
de tocam / Plasmes
H^o 1583

Don A. de c^o 1583
deed. J. de c^o 1583
en questalla me g^ontre
deed. de c^o 1583
entregu^o y p^oceder a la fine de c^o 1583
J. de c^o 1583

Don Roy de c^o 1583

RECEIPT SIGNED BY NUÑO DA SILVA,
for the pages of his account-book which were returned to him
in Madrid, on October 10th, 1583.

Photograph of the original in the Archivo Gen. de Indias, Seville.

X

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO NUÑO DA SILVA AFTER HIS RELEASE FROM THE IN- QUISITION AND RETURN TO SPAIN

NOTE.

In a letter now preserved at Simancas, which was sent by the Inquisitors of Mexico to the Council of the Inquisition in Spain, it is reported that Nuño da Silva had been convicted "of assisting at the Lutheran prayers and sermons on board the Englishman's ship and of performing heretical acts of reverence and submission, *without having been compelled to do so by force or by fear*¹."

The pilot denied, even under torture, of having "intentionally been guilty of heresy," but frankly confessed that he "had twice partaken of Communion according to the English mode of administering it."

He claimed that, in doing so he was acting under compulsion, a plea which the Inquisitors could not believe to be true as it was contradictory to the foregoing evidence given by Pascual and the Guatulco prisoners, all of whom testified that Drake had given them the option of assisting at the service according to his mode, or not.

There can be no doubt, however, that the unfortunate pilot's plea was a true one, for we learn through John Cook of at least one occasion when Drake "wylled and streightly commanded" the whole company to be ready to receive Communion, namely on the Sunday following Doughty's execution². It was, however, in vain that da Silva insisted that he had acted under compulsion. With

¹ The italics are mine. The original of the above letter is bound in the volume of reports received in Spain in 1583 and is quoted by José Toribio Medina in *Historia del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion en Mexico*, 1905, p. 58.

² See Vaux, p. 211.

an amazing inconsistency which was flattering to Drake, the Mexican Inquisitors upheld the arch-heretic's liberality in matters of religious observance on board the *Golden Hind*. Ignorant of precisely what the aforesaid witnesses had testified against him, the pilot imputed their accusations "to the great hatred they had conceived against him because, seeing him in the company of the Englishman they had inferred that he had acted as a guide to Drake." What also weighed heavily against the pilot were the (possibly not unfounded) suspicions formed by the Viceroy and Inquisitors, that he had been left in Mexico for some deep purpose and as an instrument of Drake.

Formally convicted of having, "of his own free will," been guilty of having taken part in the Englishmen's heretical observances, Nuño da Silva was sentenced to make "public abjuration *de vehementi*" in the auto-da-fé of 1582 and to "perpetual exile from the Indies."

Sent to Spain in the Fleet of the Indies of the same year, da Silva must have spent some months at Seville before King Philip II, having learnt of his arrival, issued the orders contained in the first of the following documents. The second and third reveal that Nuño da Silva not only spent several days at Court in Madrid but received marks of favour from the King, who took him into his service, bestowed a gift of money upon him, and commissioned him to carry a certain royal dispatch which was to be delivered to him at Seville.

The mercy that Nuño da Silva must have coveted and prized most and probably employed every means to obtain, was the permission to visit his family and home, under the protection of a royal safe-conduct.

Before starting on his homeward journey he took the precaution to obtain the restitution of his ship's register or account-book, which would, as he stated, "exonerate him in case that claims were made against him," but which would obviously also be of utmost use in formulating a claim against Drake.

Notwithstanding my painstaking researches I have been unable to find any evidence that Nuño da Silva ever returned to Seville or executed the Royal Commission entrusted to him by King Philip. His name does not appear in the lists of pilots and others who were salaried by the King in 1583 and the years which follow.

On the other hand, the references to Nuño da Silva by the Portuguese writer Lopez Vaz, in his *Discourse of the West Indies and South Sea...continued unto the yere 1587*, seem to indicate that da Silva was living at that date.

The fact that Lopez Vaz openly records that Nuño da Silva had been "a great helpe and furtherance unto Francis Drake in his voyage¹"; that Francis Fletcher goes so far as to maintain that "if the Portugall pilot had not been apointed of God to do us good we had perished without remembrance²," and that Francis Drake himself publicly asserted "that had it not been for Portuguese pilots...he could never have made the journey³," establish that the English openly and gratefully acknowledged their obligation to the Portuguese pilot, as well as the fact that the success of the voyage had been ensured by the material aid furnished by the cargo of the Portuguese ship.

That so immense an obligation should be published and not substantially liquidated is improbable, and there is no reason to assume that, sooner or later Drake did not, with characteristic generosity, compensate Nuño da Silva for his willing⁴ and valuable services and the sufferings which he had incurred; or acquit himself of his indebtedness for the use of the Portuguese caravel and her cargo⁵.

A consideration of the conditions which existed in Portugal at the time of da Silva's return thither in 1583, enables one to form some conjecture as to his course of action. He found that many of his countrymen, with the support of English allies, headed by Drake, Hawkins, and Walsingham, had endeavoured to place the Pretender, Don Antonio, on the throne of Portugal, which had

¹ Vaux, p. 285.

² Vaux, p. 35.

³ Letter from Ambassador Mendoza to King Philip II, 16 Oct. 1580 (*Cal. S.P.*). With characteristic exaggeration the report reads: "two Portuguese pilots" whom Drake had taken from "one of the ships he plundered and sank off the coast of Brazil on his way out."

⁴ "Now the Portugalls of the shipp having been discharged and set freely at liberty, as hath been said, we reserved to our own service only one of their company, one Sylvester, their pilot, a man well travelled both in Brasilia and moste partes of India on this side of the lande, who when he heard that our travel was into Mare del Zur, that is the South Sea, was most willing to go with us." (Sloane MS., Vaux, p. 26.)

⁵ See Note, Appendix to Part IX, for an example of Drake's readiness to satisfy a claim transmitted by the Portuguese Ambassador.

been seized by the Crown of Spain in 1581. Having been sentenced by a tribunal from which there was no appeal, to a "perpetual exile from the Indies" (which then comprised the Portuguese as well as the Spanish colonies) it is obvious that it would have been in da Silva's interests to sympathise with any attempt to make Portugal an independent kingdom. When this, however, had failed, the only chance he had of resuming his seafaring life would be to do so incognito under the protection of English or French friends.

A document I came across in the Archives of the Indies reveals that the "Chief Pilot" of an expedition "of Corsairs," which reached the coast of Brazil in 1593, was an unnamed "Portuguese Pilot aged 65," who was married [i.e. established] in Plymouth. The second pilot was "Martin Jaco who had entered the South Sea with Captain Francis Drake and was a great mariner aged 60¹."

If nothing more, the above record shows that it would not have been extraordinary for Nuño da Silva to have ultimately married and settled in Plymouth, and to have surreptitiously made expeditions in forbidden regions under the protection of old comrades.

It is a curious fact that, although in all earlier documents the Portuguese pilot's name figures as "Nuño da Silva," he is referred to as "Sylvester" by John Drake in his deposition dated 1587². The employment of an anglicised form of the pilot's name, by an old personal friend, seems to indicate that the latter had become familiar with its use and that da Silva had adopted it from prudential motives, to serve as a disguise.

¹ *Cartas del Virrey de Peru, Marques de Cañete al Rey*, Guerra, C. 70, E. 1, L. 33. See the list of Drake's company, Part XIII, B

² See p. 36.

I

PORTION OF AN UNSIGNED LETTER, DATED JULY 30, 1583, ADDRESSED TO MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL COUNCIL, MADRID, WHICH RELATES TO THE RETURN OF NUÑO DA SILVA TO SPAIN¹.

Very Illustrious Lords.

...His Majesty, having received notice that a Portuguese pilot, who navigated with Francis Drake in the South Sea, was in Seville, ordered the President and Judges of the House of Trade² to send him here, as His Majesty particularly wished to know what manner of navigation he had made and all that had happened to him.

Upon this the President and Judges took occasion to take down his declaration in writing and to send it here. Wherewith it seemed that his coming, as ordered, could be dispensed with.

Now His Majesty has ordered that his said declaration be looked into by the Council³, with a view of ascertaining whether anything ought to be done in this matter or with the said Portuguese pilot, who is held as a prisoner...⁴.

¹ *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 139, C. 1, L. 12.

² "Casa de Contratacion."

³ It is recalled here that, in his letter to the King, Don Luis de Velasco recommended that the Portuguese pilot be examined by the Royal Council. See p. 237.

⁴ Probably as a precautionary measure, da Silva not being a Spaniard.

2

LETTER FROM KING PHILIP II TO DOCTOR GOMEZ DE SANTILLAN, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE AT SEVILLE, INFORMING HIM THAT THE PORTUGUESE PILOT, NUÑO DA SILVA, HAS BEEN SET FREE, WITH A ROYAL LICENCE; AND ORDERING THAT HE IS TO BE PROTECTED FROM ALL MOLESTATION AND ANNOYANCE AND IS TO BE EMPLOYED IN THE KING'S SERVICE AS BEARER OF A CERTAIN DISPATCH, ETC., OCTOBER 7, 1583¹.

King Philip, etc. to Doctor Gomez de Santillan, of our Council of the Indies, Our President of the Board of Trade of Seville. Nuño da Silva, Portuguese pilot, came to this our Court where he spent several days and has been duly examined, as seemed expedient. He is returning to Seville with our licence, but he is first to go and see his family. You are to issue an order that, as he was seized by force by the Corsair Francis Drake, Englishman, who passed into the South Sea, he is not to be arrested or to be annoyed or molested in any way by the jailor of the prison in Seville or by any other person. On his arrival there, you are to employ him in our service, according to the order that we shall send you, to carry a certain dispatch that is to be delivered to him, which is being written and will be sent* you shortly.

You are to keep us informed, through our Council of the Indies, of what is done in this matter.

From Madrid, October 7, 1583.

Signed by

THE LICENTiate DIEGO GASCA DE SALAZAR,
THE LICENTiate ALONSO MARTINEZ SPADERO.

¹ *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 139, C. 1, L. 12.

THE LICENTiate DON DIEGO DE ZUÑIGA,
DOCTOR VAYLLO, THE LICENTiate INOJOSA,
THE LICENTiate VILLAFANE.

Countersigned by DE LEDESMA.

3

ORDER FROM KING PHILIP II TO ANTONIO DE CARTAGENA,
TREASURER, TO PAY NUÑO DA SILVA THE SUM OF
ONE HUNDRED REALS. OCTOBER 12, 1583¹.

Antonio de Cartagena, His Majesty's Receiver, in this Council, in charge of the fund of "maravedis²" derived from the fines collected in the halls of Justice; You are to give and pay to Nuño da Silva, Portuguese pilot, one hundred reals³, which I order to be given him in consideration of his need and as a help towards the expense of his voyage from this city to his home and from thence to Seville.

We order that, after communicating with the auditors of His Majesty's Accounts, you are to accept, without further precaution, his receipt and the order of payment that we are sending you (through him).

Madrid, October 12, 1583.

Signed by

GASCA, SPADERO, VAYLLO, INOJOSA, VILLAFANE.

Countersigned by DE LEDESMA.

¹ *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 139, C. 1, L. 12.

² Smallest Spanish coin = a farthing.

³ A hundred reals = £1 sterling (about £10 modern currency), a contribution which could scarcely have encouraged da Silva to remain permanently in King Philip's service.

XI

FIRST OFFICIAL REPORTS WHICH REACHED KING PHILIP II CONCERNING DRAKE'S VOYAGE OF CIRCUMNAVIGATION AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER, 1579

I

SEVEN LETTERS FROM DON ANTONIO DE PADILLA TO
KING PHILIP II ABOUT FRANCIS DRAKE, WITH THE
KING'S ANSWERS CONTAINED IN MARGINAL NOTES¹.

NOTE.

These reports written by Don Antonio de Padilla, the President of the Council of the Indies, in August and September, 1579, are particularly interesting because they reveal when and how King Philip first received official information about Drake's doing in the South Sea and what were the first Royal orders that were given in consequence of the news received.

It will be seen that after grave deliberation the Council of the Indies and the King decided to ask the King of Portugal to issue an order to his officials in the Moluccas to intercept Drake; and to instruct the Spanish Ambassador to claim a restitution of the treasure seized by Drake on the latter's return to England.

To many the most important piece of evidence contained in Padilla's letters will be the information sent to Mendoza to make use of when he presented his claim to Queen Elizabeth. For it establishes that King Philip had received definite information that, before leaving England on his Voyage of Circumnavigation, Drake had "given securities."

¹ Published by Navarrete in *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos, etc.* tomo xciv, pp. 458-471. With the exception of No. 6, which is published here *in extenso*, none of these letters relate exclusively to Drake. In the extracts given all passages of interest are presented.

The testimony of Drake's imprisoned comrades, John Oxenham and his two companions, has shown that the amount of a security was determined by the Queen and that she demanded such before she issued a commission to the leader of an armed expedition, generally imposing certain conditions upon him. It is a singular illustration of the irony of fate that it should be Philip II, the greatest of Drake's enemies, who thus furnishes a positive confirmation of the latter's repeated assertion that he undertook this voyage with a commission from the Queen.

Considering the great secrecy which surrounded Drake's departure, the mere fact that King Philip was aware that before his "sailing with five ships" Drake had deposited securities, is, moreover, a clear proof that some one was undoubtedly guilty of the treachery for which Doughty was executed after having confessed his betrayal of the carefully guarded plans of the expedition and been convicted of mutiny.

The second most interesting evidence contained in Padilla's letters concerns Drake's visit to Portugal, to which Drake also alluded when he told de Anton that the map he showed him had been made for him in Lisbon and had cost him 800 cruzados¹.

This visit to Portugal by Drake and the opportunity it afforded him to enter into personal relations with Portuguese, is of particular interest when associated with the prominent part he subsequently took in supporting the claim of Don Antonio, the Portuguese Pretender.

LETTER I, DATED MADRID, AUG. 6, 1579.

"...What that Englishman Francis Drake has done with the gold and silver of Tierra Firme is greatly to be lamented. This matter much deserves great deliberation not only on account of the present case which is of such importance, but also in view of the future. The Council will see what ought to be done about this and with his great prudence Your Majesty will do well to look into the matter also.

"The real remedy for this loss would be to catch him, if it were possible, before he could reach England. It does

¹ See p. 162, also da Silva's statements pp. 270 and 303.

not appear as though he could return thither very soon, nor can it be believed that he will go elsewhere.

"If he does reach England, even though the Queen be as she is and affairs between her and Your Majesty are as they are, I do not see how she can fail to order the restitution of what Francis Drake has seized, when representations about what has happened have been made to her." . . .

After suggesting how these could be made through Ambassador Mendoza in London, and the English envoy the King was to receive in audience on the following day, Padilla concludes his letter thus :

"All of the pilots who go in these English and French Armadas are Portuguese. For this and a hundred thousand other reasons it would be fitting that Your Majesty should become the King and Sovereign of those countries.

"Your Majesty's most humble vassal and servant who kisses your Royal feet,

"DON ANTONIO DE PADILLA."

Marginal note written by King Philip II : "It would be very well to take all suitable steps in this matter and to write to Don Bernardino to speak to the Queen ; not now, but after the Englishman has returned thither."

LETTER 2, DATED AUG. 7, 1579.

"...This morning other papers were laid aside for Your Majesty to see, whereupon I wrote some notes. This afternoon those from the Audiencia of Panama were looked into, from which it appears that the Audiencia displayed a reasonable diligence in this matter, according to its possibilities.

"If it should please Our Lord that we recover the gold and silver that Francis Drake robbed, the return of the fleets could be held to be a good one. It appears that

what they bring for Your Majesty amounts to nearly two millions...."

Marginal note in the handwriting of Mateo Vazquez who wrote under the dictation of the King: "It seems that they exerted reasonable diligence, as you say¹."

LETTER 3, DATED AUG. 11, 1579.

"...According to a letter read to-day, from a Judge at Panama, the general opinion is held that this Corsair is going to the Moluccas, so as to proceed by the route which the Portuguese follow [when they return to Portugal] from their Indies.

"I believe that the most effectual step that could be taken in this matter would be to induce the King of Portugal to issue an order that preventive measures be adopted.

"If it pleases Your Majesty you might write, with your own hand, some lines to the King and order Don Cristobal de Moura to write also, so as to push the matter with greater insistence. Your Majesty will order all to be done according to what he considers best...."

Marginal note in the King's handwriting: "It would be very well to write at once to the King, my Uncle, and to Don Cristobal. Zayas is to attend to the despatch."

A note enclosed in the above letter is headed: "Account of what is known of the deeds and intentions of the English Corsair Francis Adraque." This consists of a brief *résumé* of the contents of letters from the Viceroy of Peru dated Feb. 18 and March 21, 1579; letters from the Audiencia of

¹ As Navarrete points out, the King's comment refers to Padilla's report about the conduct of the Audiencia of Panama which is so scathingly criticized by Sarmiento in his narrative (see pp. 78 and 86). There can be no doubt that the Audiencia incurred the King's severe displeasure, as shown by the Royal Order he issued on January 10th, 1580, for a judicial inquiry to be made into the reasons for its conduct (see Appendix to Part III, No. 23, p. 132). I therefore venture to suggest that the King's comment was meant ironically.

Panama and from its President, dated April 12 and 14; and the letters from the Viceroy of New Spain dated April 23 and 24, 1579, which are published in this volume on pp. 216 and 219. The familiar facts are accurately repeated in the summary, without even a suggestion that any of King Philip's subjects had been killed by Drake or his men.

LETTER 4, DATED AUGUST 16, 1579.

A portion only of this document deals with the letter written by Secretary Zayas, according to the King's instructions, to Ambassador Mendoza. King Philip's marginal note reads: "Before the Corsair reaches England it is not expedient to speak to the Queen. When he arrives, yes. Investigate whether it would be well to erect a fortification in the Port of Magellan."

LETTER 5, DATED AUG. 23, 1579.

"I will tell Zayas what it pleases Your Majesty to have written to the Ambassador to England about the Corsair which is to be added to the portion of the letter he had written and shown me about not speaking to the Queen about this at present.

"It would also be advisable to enclose in the same letter what Don Bernardino [Mendoza] is to say to the Queen on the Corsair's arrival. It would be so much better if he were never to arrive! It would also be fitting that Don Bernardino should know, and this is to be written to him in the same letter, that at the time when this Francis Drake departed from England with those five ships he left behind given securities [as guarantees] that he would not seize or rob any persons of that kingdom or any other with whose sovereign his Queen was on peaceful terms¹.

¹ "este Francisco Draque al tiempo que partió de Inglaterra con aquellos cinco navios dejó allá dadas fianzas de no tomar ni robar a

"Whatever it may please Your Majesty to order will be what is best."

Marginal note by King Philip II: "It will be very well to advert Don Bernardino and to inform Don Juan de Idiaquez, whose affair it is, of all this that is to be written to England."

LETTER 6, DATED AUG. 31, 1579.

"Your Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty,

It is understood that before starting from England for the South Sea, Francis Drake spent several days in Lisbon, endeavouring to ascertain the navigation route of the Portuguese from East India hither. According to what is at present thought, his purpose is that if on that voyage he should enter the South Sea it would be very difficult to return through the strait or over Tierra Firme, particularly as the negro Cimmarons are now no longer his friends. He carries a map of the said voyage. It would be very important to have a transcription of this map and it seems advisable that Your Majesty should order Zayas to write immediately to Don Cristobal de Moura, to obtain one and send it to Your Majesty. Some copy of it will have remained behind and Don Cristobal can try to find out what person or persons had dealings with this Corsair so that, once this is known, one can more carefully deal with this matter."

Marginal note by King Philip II: "Inform Zayas, so that a letter can be written at once."

• LETTER 7, DATED SEPT. 5, 1579.

This deals in part with the projected "closing" of the Strait of Magellan by means of fortifications, but does not contain any mention of Drake.

gente de aquel reino ni de otras con quien la Reina y el suyo tuvieron paz."

APPENDIX TO PART XI

TWO LETTERS FROM PEDRO DE RADA TO DOCTOR GOMEZ DE SANTILLAN DATED JULY 29 AND AUGUST 19, 1580¹.

NOTE.

In these remarkable letters Doctor Gomez de Santillan, President of the Board of Trade in Seville and a member of the Council of the Indies, is prematurely informed of the return of "Captain Francis Drake" from the South Sea and his arrival at La Rochelle in France, according to news obtained from French shipmasters from Nantes, who reached Portugalete in August.

The dates of these letters accord, not with Drake's return, but with that of John Winter, who entered Plymouth harbour in the *Elisabeth* in June 1580 (about six or seven weeks before the first of these letters was written).

It appears, therefore, that the English Corsair who arrived at Belle Isle must have been John Winter, who may have allowed himself to be taken for Drake, effectually concealing his own identity from the French informants.

On the other hand it will be seen that it was the writer of the letters who made the wrong inference that the Corsair was Drake.

The report that he had brought back a great amount of gold and silver, a part of which had been landed secretly in France, can scarcely be reconciled with Winter's own asseveration (see Part IX, 2, B) that he had never given his consent to the taking of any ship or goods unlawfully. He does not seem, however, to have had any scruples about freely using all of the Portuguese merchandise that he and his men required during the homeward voyage. His secret landing of treasure seems moreover to prove that when Winter voluntarily abandoned the expedition, he was merely carrying into execution Doughty's ignoble proposal to Drake to give up the voyage of discovery and return to England by the North Sea which offered "the certainty of capturing prizes²."

¹ *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E. 2, C. 5, L. 2-21.

² See de Zarate's record of Drake's own words, p. 208.

Very Illustrious Lord,

Having, as was my duty, exerted vigilance in order to ascertain what success had been obtained by the Captain Francis, English Corsair, who entered the South Sea, I obtained the following from two inhabitants of this town, both masters of vessels and persons of credit who had arrived from Nantes in France.

There, two Frenchmen, whom I also knew to be reliable, who habitually come to this port and are now expected daily, told them, and certified, that said Captain Francis, Englishman, with the same ship which had entered the South Sea, had come to Belle Isle¹ in France, about 30 miles from la Rochelle, in the mouth of the entrance to Nantes, and had brought a great quantity of treasure of gold and silver, a part of which he had unloaded secretly on said Island and transported to the mainland of France. After having remained there for about six days, he had gone to la Rochelle and Antioche which is in the same straits of la Rochelle, and there [these two Frenchmen] had learnt, from his own lips, how he had entered the self-same Strait of Magellan and passed through it into the South Sea, and that he had not dared to go to England on

¹ "Vela Isla." The following is an extract from an English MS. which I recently came across at the National Archives, Paris (Anglais 106) by G. F. Ritso, entitled *Description of the island of Belle Isle*, A.D. 1761.

"It is the first land made by Vessels coming from the East and West Indies, that are destined for the western part of France, and sailors prefer it to all others on account of the ease with which they can discover it at the distance of 30 or 40 leagues and also because the coast of it is thought very healthy and Vessels always dry at low water."

Winter undoubtedly knew of the phenomenal fall of the tide (about 20 ft.) that occurs off this part of the Brittany Coast, which would afford him extraordinary facilities for the cleaning of his vessel. From the same MS. we learn that Belle Isle was a favourite resort for adventurers, and that "the Monks of Quimperle wrote to the King of France," complaining that it had become "a receptacle for Pirates."

account of having beheaded a noble gentleman whom he had carried in his company, and for other reasons¹.

Although I am now awaiting the arrival of these French shipmasters, in order to obtain from them the most authentic account possible, it has seemed to me advisable to inform Your Grace of what has been related to me. I esteem the account as true, because it was given by said persons, and because the time when he is reported to have passed the Strait agrees with the present account of his escape from danger and arrival at the coast of France.

I will inform Your Grace and the Royal Council of the information I may procure.

Whenever I can be of use in the service of His Majesty, the Royal Council, and of Your Grace, I shall fulfil my obligation. Whenever there is occasion, it would be conferring a mercy upon me if Your Grace would remember me and send me your orders.

May Our Lord guard your very illustrious Person and household with the increase of estate, that Your Grace and this your servant, desire.

From Portugalete², 29 July, 1580.

Very Illustrious Sir, I kiss your hands,

Your servant,

PEDRO DE RADA.

2

Very Illustrious Lord,

On the 28th ultmo. I wrote to Your Grace the account given to me about the Captain Francis, Corsair, who entered the South Sea. What I now have to add is,

¹ The dissemination of information about Doughty's execution and the statement that this was but one of several reasons why Drake did not "dare" to return to England, must be interpreted as some incompletely reported attempt by Winter to blacken Drake's character.

² Portugalete is a port on the Northern Coast of Spain.

that the French shipmasters whom I was expecting in order to obtain all the information I could, have arrived here. They state that an English ship of approximately 200 tons, with much artillery and a great quantity of silver and gold had arrived at Belle Isle de Saint Jean.

He [Captain Francis] had stayed at La Rochelle on his way, in search of some place where he could repair and clean his ship because it came covered with a superabundance of long seaweed, such as grows of its own accord on the vessels that navigate in the Indian Seas.

Therefore, without sailing much, he was searching for a suitable careening place in the islands of Houat¹ which I myself have visited. They are uninhabited and situated between Morbihan in France and the entrance to the coast of Nantes.

When the Captains of the galleys of France heard of him, two of the galleys which patrol that coast attacked and fought him, not knowing who he was, or what wealth he carried—but merely on the supposition that he was a Corsair.

●He defended himself, however, and sailed for a second time towards La Rochelle.

It is believed that he was keeping about that coast, entertaining himself, until he received word from England, whither he had sent a message in order to ensure a safe return to that realm.

In La Rochelle he had strengthened his crew and taken

¹ Spanish text, "las yslas de los doats." The latter word conveys the sound of the French "île d'Houat."

The MS. description, already quoted from, contains the following data:

"The islands of Houac and Hoedic belong to the Government of Belle Isle; the first about the distance of two leagues from it, extends a league in length and half a league in breadth.

"The second is almost three leagues distant from Belle Isle and not above half as big as the former. They are each fortified...the design of fortifying was to prevent their being places of refuge to the Privateers of Jersey and Guernsey, who used to make descents upon them to lay in stores of water and provisions."

new men on board. He carried no merchandise, but gold and silver, from which fact, and from the others that these two men relate, I have been able to infer that he is the identical Corsair¹. I have no doubt, that this being the case, he and others, whom he may convene, will be fired by a desire for similar great riches, and undertake a repetition of the same expedition.

Therefore it has appeared to me well to inform Your Grace of all this, thus fulfilling my obligation to serve His Majesty and the Royal Council, and in order that all necessary precautions may be taken.

May Our Lord preserve the very illustrious Person and House of Your Grace with an increase of estate such as this your servant desires (for you).

From Portugalete, 19 August, 1580.

Very Illustrious Lord, Your Grace's hand is kissed by
your very servant,

PEDRO DE RADA.

¹ This passage proves that it was the officious de Rada who was mainly responsible for the mistaken identification, which has led, however, to our obtaining an illuminating glimpse of Winter's secret doings.

XII

CHARGES AGAINST DRAKE FORMULATED IN SPAIN

NOTE.

A few days after Drake returned to Plymouth from his voyage around the world he received word from his friends at Court "that the Queen was displeased with him for that by way of Peru and Spain she had heard of the robberies he had committed, and the Spanish Ambassador was there who said he would demand restoration of what he had taken."

The original brief presented by Ambassador Mendoza at that time is endorsed and dated 1580 by Lord Burleigh's hand and is preserved among the Ashmole MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford with another MS. which, although its endorsement bears the date 1581, seems to consist of the "documents and proofs" to which Don Bernardino alludes in his letter to King Philip II dated Oct. 23, 1580¹.

It will be seen that in both lists of charges formulated against Drake, the facts furnished by the official reports and letters from America contained in this volume, have, with one unimportant exception, been strictly adhered to and truthfully transcribed. The consequence is that there is not a word mentioned about Drake having caused the death of any one of the King of Spain's subjects.

This omission is of extreme importance in view of the false accusations which were invented later and will be discussed in Part XIII.

¹ See note to No. 2, Part XII.

I

THE THIRD VOYADG OF FRANCISCE DRAKE UPON INFORMATION OF Y^e SPA. AMBASSADOR, 1580¹.

The thirde voyage Frauncys Drake did robbe the [vessel] of San Joan de Antona and other shippes as doth a[ppear in] the Registers and Informatione that hath ben presented in [the] Counsell of the Indias of his Maieste the w^{ch} doth make John de Ledesma Secretarye to his Ma^{ties} Chamber and of [the] Royall Counsell of the Indias Who doth affirme it and make faithe su^marelie as doth followe.

First he came to the Porte of Santiago de Chile and tooke and robbed theare out of the shippe named the "Capten" appertayninge to Licentiado Torres being at an Anker in the foresaide Harbo^r. Two hundreth Thousand Pezos of fyne golde being registred and unregistred and likewise seaventeene Hundreth Jarres of Wyne and manie other thinges and likewise came to the Towne and did robbe the Vestments of the Churches and brake downe the Belles and broke up the Kinges Storehowse beside a great manie other ynsolencies that he did and comytted and carried awaie wth him the foresaide shippe.... 200 D.

More He came to the Harbo^r of Arica and theare did robbe an other shippe and tooke awaie from her two and thertie Barres of silver being worthe everie one foure hundreth Duckatts and likewise did burne an other Shippe that laie in y^t Harbo^r.

More he did take two shippes being laden wth Cables and Cordage for the Service of his Ma^{ties} Shippes.

¹ Ashmole MS. 830, 17, fol. 69^a. The document is endorsed as above "by Lord Burleigh's hand" and "contains official accounts of the plunders he made among the Spaniards in S. America." *Catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS.*, p. 490. A copy of the same document is in the British Museum. Lansdowne, 52, fol. 36. I learnt of the existence of this document and the following brief through their transcriptions contained in the valuable volume entitled "A collection of important Historical MSS. relating to Sir Francis Drake 1580-1603 transcribed for Henry Stevens from the original papers and correspondence preserved in the British Museum, Lincoln's Inn, the Bodleian Library and the Ashmolean at Oxford, the Public Record Office, etc.," which is owned by Mr W. H. K. Wright, the Borough Librarian of Plymouth, who very kindly lent it to me at the suggestion of Sir J. K. Laughton.

More he tooke in y^t Harbo^r Callao of y^e Kinges a shippe coming from the fyrme lande laden w^t divers marchandizes and did cutt awaie the Hawsers and cables of other shippes y^t weare in y^t Harbo^r by whose meanes they weare overthrowen, and he did y^t same because they sholde not followe him.

More he broke in the Harbo^r of Païta a boate laden with marchaundizes and likewise tooke awaie the Pilate of the same Boate.... D.

More he did robbe in the Cape of San Francisco the Shippe of San John de Antona of Thre hundreth threscore five hundreth thowsand Pezos as doth appeare by the Registers of the Kinge.... 365 D.

More he tooke out of the same shippe Foure hundreth thowsand Pezos being not registred as it doth appere by the proofes and faithes y^t the foresaide Secretarye John de Ledesma doth make faithe appertayning to passengers being vassailes of his Ma^{tie} and likewise tooke manie Jewelles and chaynes from them.... 400 D.

More he did robbe a small shippe coming from Guayaquil of Eightene thowsand Pezos of gold and silver and great quantitie of Cordage besides other thinges w^{ch} was for the provision of the Journey y^t was appointed to the Fylipinas w^{ch} weare sent by the counsell Royall of his Ma^{tie} for his accompt.... 18 D.

More he did robbe all the Barkes y^t weare at fishing and trafficking for pearles.... D.

More he did robbe a shippe coming from Newe Spayne laden with Marchaundize Wherein was Don Francisco de Sarate and out of y^t same he tooke his pleasure.... D.

More he did robbe in the Harbo^r of Guatulco being in newe Spayne certin shippes and did cutt y^e tacle and Cables of certin other shippes which weare bounde for Chyna and did burne parte of them¹.... D.

¹ It is noteworthy that, instead of a report of what really occurred at Guatulco, the above charge is formed by a combined repetition of the crating of cables in Calloa, and the burning of a ship in Arica recorded in preceding paragraphs. The losses incurred at Guatulco did not affect the Spanish Crown or the Seville merchants who claimed restitution.

Besides all before recited he did muche harme and robbed in the same coast taking the Boates y^t weare coming from Porte to Porte w^t golde and silver.

2

A BRIEF OF THE PROCEEDINGS AGAINST
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE¹.

NOTE.

This set of three documents answers to the description given by Ambassador Mendoza of the documents and proofs he showed the two secretaries of Queen Elizabeth's who visited him separately on Oct. 23rd, 1580, excepting in one particular.

They contain no accusation of the murder of Spanish subjects, whereas in Mendoza's letter he mentions "homicides²."

A

AN ABRIDGEMENT OF YE RELATION AND PROVES MADE AGAINSTE
SIR FRAUNCES DRAKE KT. TOUCHINGE HIS DOINGS IN THE
SOUTHE SEA BEYONDE THE STREIGHTE OF MAGALANUS.

It is Enformed the saide Frances Drake went fourthe wth fyve shippes well apointed and in them fower hundred men of warre Havinge for pylote a Portingall named Amador de Silva.

They sayde Drake came by Cape Verde and coastinge the coasts of Brazill arryved at the mowthe of the Streighte of Magalanus where there is a verye good porte named St Julian in the w^{ch} they taryed wynteringe ij monethes because of the greate northern wynds w^{ch} were contrarye.

¹ Ashmole MSS. 830, 19, fol. 73^a, l. 1. The old endorsement reads: "1581. A brief of y^e proces against S^r F^r Drake." The three last leaves of these three sheets are vacant. A copy of this document is kept in the British Museum, Lansdowne, 30.

² See Note, Part XIII, where the false accusations are discussed. Mendoza's letter (*Simancas, Est*, 833, fols. 36 and 37) reads: "the papers and proofs...I showed them were those which the consuls of the Merchants of Seville sent me, especially a memorandum of 375,000 pesos which he took in the South Sea in a ship (*sic*) named 'Master San Juan de Antona,' in addition to the insults and homicides that he committed in the South Sea and Your Majesty's ports, burning several ships and cutting the hawsers and cables of others so that they could not follow him...."

At thende of w^{ch} time the V shippes went out of the sayde porte and saylinge in the Streighte they had a tempeste so vehement that ij of the sayde shippes perished and they receved the men into other remayninge iij shippes w^{ch} wth iij Pynaces w^{ch} they towed at their poores issued out of the Streighte into the Southe Sea in 44 degrees of altitude and saylinge towarde the Sea, wth a storme were 40 daies in the Sea at dryte and so the ij shippes dyd separte them selves and the sayde Drake remayned alone w^{ch} could never afterward se them.

It was understoode that they wente to y^e Maluccos and it was agreed betweene them that they shoulde mete in thirte Degrees or 32 degrees and halfe, w^{ch} is the Cape St. Fraunces.

From thence Drake came to the porte of St iago from Chile and entered into the shippe of lycentiat Torris¹ called "Capitana" w^{ch} was surging² there from the w^{ch} he tooke 14^m Pezos of golde and 1800 botazes of Wyne and some other things.

From thence he entred into the towne and robbed the ornaments and belles of the Churche and broke downe the dures of the Sello^{rs}³ and brake the vessells of wyne and caryinge wth him the shippe w^{ch} he had spoyled arryved in the porte of Arica where a shippe of Philippe Dorse⁴ was, out of y^t w^{ch} he tooke 34 wedges of sylver and burned one other shippe that was there of one Mr Benito.

From the porte they went fourthe in a pynace wth the two shippes that they had robbed and they arryved in the sighte of the porte of Chile in Arequipa where there were laden in a shippe of Bernal bueno 500 wedges of his Matie w^{ch} the saide Drake woulde have robbed had not y^e men that were aborde by advyse they had before, unladen and hyded the same alande.

From thence they went fourthe followinge their voyage and beinge in the highe sea tooke out of the two shippes w^{ch} they caryed wth them th' apparell and other things they had neede of, and so left them.

¹ Torres.

² Surging seems to have been suggested to the translator by the Spanish: "surto" = riding at anchor.

³ Cellars.

⁴ Corço, see note 1, p. 189.

And the xiiijth of Februarie they arryved in y^e porte of Callao of the Cittye of Los Reys and entered into y^t and iij howers after eveninge the sayde Drake and companye went out in a pynace to a shippe of Michell Angell wherein he founde nothinge.

At the same time there arryved there a shippe of Alonzo Roderiges Babtista w^{ch} came from the firme land laden wth Marchandizes w^{ch} presentlye they tooke and robbed hurtinge the sayde Alonzo and others that woulde have defended themselves.

There were other shippes in that porte to the w^{ch} the sayde Drake and company went and cut their cables, because they shoulde not followe and then departed caryenge wth them the sayde Marchants shippe.

The newes beinge knowen to the Viceroye he comannded to arme two shippes wth a number of men that shoulde go to pursue y^e shippe of the sayde Drake w^{ch} was wthin sighte, w^{ch} two shippes wente fourthe the verye same daye and came agenne the nexte daye followinge beinge not hable to overtake him bringinge wth them y^e Marchants shippe of the sayde Alonzo w^{ch} the sayde Drake lefte behinde him.

This Fraunces Drake went fourthe of the porte of Callao and sailinge alongeste the coaste arryved at y^e porte of Paita wher^e he tooke a boate arryved there wth marchandizes, of the w^{ch} he tooke those he thoughte beste, and caryed wth him the pylote wth whome he cam alongeste the coaste enquiringe of the shippe of St. John de Anton, w^{ch} was comynge from Panama, the w^{ch} he overtooke 150 leages from the sayde place, the firste of Marche and robbed all the threasure beinge therein.

The daye befor it was understoode that he had robbed an other small shippe w^{ch} was comynge from Guayaquill wth eighteen thowsande Pezos of golde and sylver, and greate quantitie of tacklynge and other things of provision for the Journey to the Phillypinas and Valiano, the w^{ch} the royale awdyen^{ce} had caused to be boughte for the sayde effecte.

All these things were don untill the 24th of Aprill in the yeare 1580¹.

¹ Attention is drawn to the fact that the seizing of some merchandise and a large sum of money and the sacking of the Church at Guatulco, on April 13th, are not mentioned above.

B

THE PROVES.

Anthony Corco	}	These witnesses are examined befor y ^e prior and Consulls of y ^e universalite of Marchants tradinge and dealinge in y ^e Indyas in Cyvell at dyvers daies in the yere 1580. And Lorenzo de Miranda Notarye Publyke.
Parys Corco		
Paris Corso		
John Pitterill		
Alexander Corco		
Anthony Canires		
Marten de Bermer		

The Effecte of y^e depositions of
the sayde Witnesses.....

Fraunces Drake whose person they do describe particularlye At Chile
and his dwellinge place to be at Plymouthe and his companye. 100^m Pezos
In the provence of Chile tooke two chests of golde and other of golde.
parceles laden in the shippe called "Capitana" amountinge to In y^e re-
100^m Pezos of golde and to be registered for particular persons. lation it is
saide he
tooke but
14^m Pezos
registred.

They tooke also there 1800 botasas or Jarres of wyne wth a quantytye of Plankes.

They robbed the ornaments of the church at Valparayse in the province of Chile.

They tooke two barks in the porte of Arica out whereof they Arica 34
had 34 barres of sylver, thon of the barks he tooke wth him, and barres of
thoother they sett on fyer. sylver not
valued.

The sayde Drake and companye tooke a shippe at Quaiquill Quaiquill
laden wth 18^m Pezos of golde and sylver registred and 50^m un- 18^m Pezos
registred and 50^m un-
registred besyde certin cordage to the shippes of the Kinge registred.
estemed at 4000Ds.

They robbed a shippe of Quito wth a quantytye of golde and At Quito
sylver the certentye whereof is not laide downe by the witnes but 14^m Pezos
in the Register it is founde to be 14^m Pezos of golde. of gold.

They tooke a shippe of Mr John de Anton comynge from Mr St Jo.
Callao de Lyra nere the pourte of Sancto Francisco and had de Anton
from her 360m Pezos of golde and sylver registred as the witnes Cape St.
do reporte and by the register it is 333 Pezos more wth 400^m to Francisco
be registred. 360^m
registred
333^m pesos

more not
deposed
and not
noted in
register.
Million
of pezos.

The sayde witnesses do esteame the sayde damages susteyned by the spoiles aforesayde to amount to a million of pezos of golde, everye pezos worthe 450 maravedis.

There is sent a coppye wth all of the Register of the Pezos of golde and sylver in the w^{ch} everye particuler person interested is named and his portion noted upon his hed.

Registred. I fynde by the deposiçons of the witnesses no more registred but 400^m 6 Pezos beside 34 barres of sylver not valued.

And I fynde deposed to be taken by reporte and not registred these parcells followinge.

<p>iiij^{xx} vj^m of the 100^m of the pezos taken at Chile Ltie^m Pezos at Quaiquill iiij^{cm} pezos in y^e St John de Anton</p>	}	500 ^m 36 pezos.
--	---	----------------------------

NOTE. S^r Frances Drake dothe utterlye denye that either he had or yet ever dyd to any parcell of those pezos unregistred but verelye thinketh that the same beinge hydden under the baliste of the shippe are kepte from the merchants by the marynes of the shippes wherein they were laden¹.

C

OF THE PROCURAÇON AND POWER W^{CH} PETER DE SUVIAURE
SPAN. HATHE TO DEMAUDE RESTITUÇON OF THE SAYDE
GOODS SPOYLED.

Particular
persons
interested.

Anthony Corco Vicentelo
John de la Verrera
Balthasar de Jaen
Johñ de Herrera
Johñ Martines de Herrera
Johñ de la Torre
Anthony Rodori de Cabura
Johñ Alonzo de Medina
Marchants of Cyvill.

Have given power before a publyke Notarye to the sayde Peter de Seviaure to demannde restituçon of the sayde golde sylver realles perles precious stones and other goods or the valewe thereof. This Peter de Sebiaure hathe power to substitute any other to compounde wth the Spoylers to make acquittances and to do all other things requisytt.

Besyde this the prior and consulls of the generalitie of the Merchants tradinge in the Indias of the Cittye of Cyvill before

¹ This note reveals that these documents were submitted to Drake whose surmise about the gold being hidden is of interest.

the Kings royall Notarye in their owne name, and in the name of all others of their companye interested in the sayde spoyled goods have geven the like power to the sayde Peter de Sebriare t' appere before the excellent Quene of Inglande and her royall Counsaill etc. and to complayne of y^e saide Frances Drake and all other his complices etc.

To demawnde and receve the sayde golde sylver and other things spoyled for them and all other interested to compromitt, transacte and to geve pardon and acquittance to the sayde spoylers upon composiçon with all other clauses necessarye.

This power is signed by the K. royall Notarye and testified so to be, by ij other publyk Notaries.

The K. by his letters dated at Elves the XVIth daye of december in A d 1580 hathe geven his consent and lycence to the saide Prior and Consulls to make the sayde procuraçon to Peter de Sebriare wth this condiçon that the sayde Sebriare do nothinge wthout advice and order of the Don Barnardino de Mendoza his embassador wth the Q. Ma^{ty}.

XIII

FALSE CHARGES OF CRUELTY AND HOMICIDE BROUGHT AGAINST DRAKE* BY THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR AND THEIR REFUTATION

NOTE.

The false report that subsequently to Drake several English vessels had appeared off the Coast of South America is repeatedly referred to in the official documents contained in Parts II and III, and is declared to be untrue by Sarmiento on p. 79.

In the letter published in note 1, on p. 153, the crime of having killed a pilot is imputed to the crew of the imaginary English ships, upon the hearsay evidence of two fugitive Indians.

De Anton's hearsay report that Drake had "killed the crew" of Patagalana's ship at Callao stands alone, and is proven to be erroneous by the evidence of actual eye-witnesses¹.

Although the original briefs contained in Part XII contain no charge of murder and no documentary evidence is forthcoming to prove that King Philip or the Council of the Indies had formulated or authorised such a charge to be made against Drake by the Spanish Ambassador, the latter in a letter to the King, quoted in Part XII, reports that he has accused Drake of "homicide."

In "The Answer of the Spanish Ambassador to the speech delivered by Mr Beale," dated Oct. 29, 1580², Bernardino de Mendoza, upon whom the sole responsibility for this abominable charge appears to rest, declares that "In fight, Drake, has cut off the hands of some of his Majesty's subjects...."

An exaggerated version of the Ambassador's charges seems, in turn, to have been transmitted to Drake who, as shown by the following document, demanded that "the gentlemen and others

¹ See note, p. 166.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series*, Elizabeth, 474.

of his companie" be examined on the subject and their evidence be officially recorded.

The interrogatory, formulated by Edmund Tremayne, who, at one time had been a Member of Parliament for Plymouth, is dated Nov. 8th, exactly ten days after the charges had been formulated by the Spanish Ambassador.

After the following refutation of the false charges had been signed, by forty-nine members of Drake's company, the matter seems to have been dropped or withdrawn, for it does not figure in the later negotiations for restitution carried on by Pedro de Çubiaure¹.

But, strange to say, and incredible as it may seem, to this day there exists a widespread belief that during the voyage of circumnavigation, in the South Sea, Drake and his company were actually guilty of cruelty and murder!

I

LETTER FROM EDMUND TREMAYNE TO SECRETARY SIR
FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, DATED NOVEMBER 8, 1580².

EXTRACTS.

"...I do think mete also to inform yo^r ho. that Mr Drake made me acquaynted wth certeine matters grevouslie objected against him by the Sp. Amb....uppō the p^ticulers wherof he praied me to examyne bothe the gentlemen and others of his

¹ According to Purchas "a great part of the money was refunded after to Peter Sebura, the Spanish agent, which he repaid not to the owners but made use thereof against the Queene in the affair of the Spanish Netherlands, as was afterwards found." (*Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. Jas. MacLehose, vol. XVI. p. 317.) A number of Spanish documents yield proofs of Çubiaure's duplicity.

² Public Record Office. *State Papers, Dom.*, El. vol. 144, No. 17. Endorsed "8 November 1580. From Mr Tremayne (*sic*) Concerning certayne examinations taken in Mr Drak...cause." A portion of this important and lengthy document which expresses Tremayne's high opinion of Drake has been quoted by Froude and Mr Julian Corbett. The above extract is published by Colonel E. T. Clifford in "Drake's Treasure" (*The Devonian Year Book*, p. 31, 1913) with a reproduction of No. 17, II.

companie the w^{ch} I thought reasonable to yelde unto and theruppō drewe these interrogatories following, vīdz. [Firstly] Whither Mr Drake and his companie had taken from...K. of Sp^{ne} and his subjects in goulde and silver to the value of one million and halfe or not.

"Secondly, Whither they have in their voyage taken any shippes or vessells of the said K. or his subjects and after sunken them wth their men or marryners or not.

"Thirdlie Whither they had at any tyme in any fight killed any of the said Ks subjects or had cut off their hands or armes or otherwise wth any crueltie mangled any of them. The answeres unto w^{ch} interrogatories as they have cōfessed and delivered unto me wth their own hands and as I herde them all to affirme them I do send unto yo^r ho. herewth By w^{ch} yo maie sone see how much things be infered beyonde the trouth...¹."

2

ANSWERS TO THE INTERROGATORIES, SIGNED BY LAWRENCE ELYOT, JOHN CHESTER, GREGORY CARY, GEORGE FFORTESCU AND 45 OTHER MEMBERS OF DRAKE'S COMPANY².

Lawrence Elyot. To the fyrst I say that to the valew I cann say nothings, the thing being unknowen unto me; only sylver and some gould there was taken, but how moche I know not; but a verie small some in respecte of that that is reported.

¹ It is noteworthy that an equally false but similar accusation was formulated against John Hawkins in 1569 by a Portuguese, who states that he had heard it from a negro slave he had bought from Hawkins after the San Juan de Ulua episode. According to the slave the Englishmen had attacked two or three Portuguese vessels off the coast of Spain and "cutting off the legs of the crew, threw the latter alive into the sea." (*Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, E 2, C 5, L 1-20, No. 13.)

² Public Record Office. *State Papers, Dom.*, El. vol. 144, No. 17, 11. It was from Sir John Knox Laughton that I learnt, in June, 1912, of the existence of this valuable document which he "rescued from the limbo of MS." and published in an article entitled "Drake's Voyage round the World," in 1887, in *Notes and Queries*, 7th Series, IV. 186.

The same document has since been re-published by Colonel E. T. Clifford with its reproduction in reduced size, and a valuable

[illegible][illegible]

Es sey frey, Erndt, und Egid wirtlich do auffsich
 ob above vergriffen, und wirtlich frey sey demselben, ob

No the first second and third articles be referred to above
respected and with further the same respectively after

To the first, second and third articles do asyure as above
rehered and will Iustifie the same upon my othe.

And ye like do all ye west offorme as ye names do yonge after the

James Livingston James Barclay Edward Barclay
William Barclay

20. *Topog. gulo* *Donabrom* *antrum* *Topog. gulo*
Topog. gulo *Donabrom* *antrum* *Topog. gulo*

Thomas Good Thomas Mitchell

Thomas Jefferson Roger King John F. Kennedy

Thomas Drake John Wright Richard Smith
James Smith James Smith James Smith

John Brown Thomas Smith James Miller
James Miller Simon Wood

Engel radonoto
shan lano
William L. G.
Toon masien
Pomax

hazte lo mejor que puedas

1. *Spizella monticola*
 2. *Spizella monticola*
 3. *Spizella monticola*
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 99. *Spizella monticola*
 100. *Spizella monticola*

Thomas Gayleson Esq. Northampton.

William Hunt

Geno. Samelli

Trigloporus maximus

Robert Collman

den gule
Tegn som

Larmichet gaorgit

England 1811

Fac-simile of original preserved at Public Record Office.

To the second, I confesse there were shypps taken; but that any weare sunken with their men and mariners, yt is altogether untrew.

To the thirde that to my knowledge there was no Spaniarde slaine by any of us, or had their armes or hands cutt off, or otherwise by any creweltie mangled or maimed. Only on man I remember was hurt in the face, which our General cawsed to be sent for, and lodged him in his owne shipp, seet him at his own table, and would not soffer him to depart before he was recovered, and so sent him safe away.

John Chester. To the fyrste, second, and third article, I do affyrme ys above rehersed, and wyll justyfye the same uppon my othe.

Gregory Cary. To the fyrste, second and third artycle do afyrme as above rehersed and will justyfye the same uppon my othe.

George Ffortescu. To the fyrste, second and thirde artycle do afyrme as above rehersed and will justyfye the same uppon my othe.

And the like do all the rest afferme whose names do heare after folowe.

Francis Fletcher	Richard Cadwell
Chrystopher Hals	Jhan Laus
Thomas Hord	Bartelmyeus Gotsalck
Thomas Sothern	Grygorye Raymente
Thomas Drake	John Drake
John Brewar	John Mariner

note, identifying the most important members of Drake's company, by Mr R. Pearse Chope. (*The Devonian Year Book*, p. 47, 1913.)

On account of its importance and the interest attached to the signatures of those who made the famous voyage with Drake, the document is here reproduced in fac-simile as Plate XVI.

In the following transcription of the signatures, which I submitted for revision to Miss Ethel G. Grogan of the Public Record Office, the interpretation of some of the almost illegible names differs slightly in several instances from previous versions, and is respectfully submitted to palaeographers. A careful scrutiny of the fac-simile reveals that all of the eighteen names in the second and some in the third column are written in the same hand-writing, possibly that of Thomas Blacollers whose name heads them and who was the boatswain or mate of the *Golden Hind* and subsequently accompanied the Fenton expedition. See p. 19.

Necolas Mour	Thomas Markes
John Huse	Robarte Pollmane
Dennes Ffoster	John Fowler
William Shelle	Launsolet Garget
Thomas Blacollers	Richard Writ
Thomas Mone	Richard Clarke
Thomas Meckes	William Horsewill
Roger Kingesuod	John Blacoler
John Grepe	Povll Jemes
Thomas Crane	John Kidde
Willam Lege	Richard Rowles
John Marten Stewerd	Jeames Milles
Christefor Waspe	Simon Woodd
Roger Player	Thomas Hogges
Thomas Haylston	John Martyn
Willan Smyth	John Watterton
Renold Danelles	

NOTE.

According to Fletcher, Cooke, and the author of "The famous voyage," etc.¹, Drake sailed from Plymouth with "164 able men." The Sloane MS. specifies: "150 men and some boys²," and John Drake states: "not more than 160 soldiers," and "140 men including soldiers and sailors³." A clerical error, which has been pointed out, makes Nuño da Silva appear to have said "270" instead of 170 men⁴.

After the deaths of several members of the company; the loss of the *Marigold* with all on board, of a pinnace with Peter Carder and seven men, and the desertion of the *Elisabeth*, Drake was left on the *Golden Hind* with a company the estimates of which by Spanish prisoners varies from 80 to 86 men.

According to John Drake the company was reduced to 60 men at the Moluccas, in order to lighten the ship and numbered 59 when off the Cape of Good Hope, "one having died⁵."

¹ Vaux, pp. 7, 187, and 227.

² Vaux, p. 7, note.

³ See pp. 24 and 35.

⁴ See p. 301.

⁵ See pp. 32 and 33, also Fletcher's statement (Vaux, p. 154) that they were "58 in all" which was probably not as accurate as John Drake's.

As no other death is recorded it must be assumed that 59 members of the company returned to Plymouth.

One Spanish witness¹ states that twelve of Drake's company were "gentlemen and cavaliers"; another describes how, during Divine service, "nine Englishmen" occupied seats of honour² (possibly because others were on duty watching the prisoners).

In the following list the names of the signatories are arranged alphabetically and eight names, known to be those of "gentlemen," are marked by asterisks. To these should be added William Hawkins and John Doughty³, neither of whom signed the declaration, but are known to have returned with Drake⁴. Some of the seven missing names from the count of 59 were probably those of the young boys so frequently alluded to as having been on board, and of some foreign sea-men who had gone home.

Thomas Blacollers

John Blacoler

John Brewar

John Chester*

Gregory Cary*

Richard Cadwell

Thomas Crane

Richard Clarke

Thomas Drake*

John Drake*

Renold Danielles

Lawrence Elyot*

Francis Fletcher*

George Ffortescu*

John Fowler

Dennes Ffoster

Launsolet Garget

Bartelmyeus Gotsalck

John Grepe

Thomas Hord*⁵

Thomas Hogges

John Huse

Chrystopher Hals

Thomas Haylston

William Horsewill

Povll Jemes

Roger Kingesuod

John Kidde

¹ See p. 186.

² Vaux, p. 227.

³ For William Hawkins see Vaux, p. 177.

⁴ Parraces may have counted Nuño da Silva, who always sat at Drake's table, as the twelfth gentleman of the company.

⁵ See p. 19. This name is given as "Hood" by Purchas and others, but the signature establishes that "Hord" was the true name.

Willam Lege
Jhan Laus

Grygorye Raymente
Richard Rowles^a

Thomas Mone
John Martyn¹
Necolas Mour
Thomas Markes
Thomas Meckes
Jeames Milles
John Mariner

Thomas Sothern
William Shelle
Willan Smyth
John Marten Stewerd

Robarte Pollmane
Roger Player

Simon Woodd
Christefor Waspe
Richard Writ
John Watterton

List of those who lost their lives during the Voyage of Circumnavigation.

At Port San Julian :

Robert Winterhey, gentleman ; Oliver, master gunner (shot by Patagonians) ; Thomas Doughty, gentleman (tried as mutineer and beheaded).

In the South Sea :

The entire crew of the *Marigold* (number and names unknown) including Captain John Thomas and Master Edward (Ned) Bright (drowned) ; the crew of a pinnace : Richard Burnish, John Cottle, Artyur, Richard Joyner, Pasche Gidie (Paskoe Goddy), William Pitcher and "another" whose name is not given² (died of privations and hardships) ; two unnamed men (died of scurvy)³.

At the Island of Mucho :

Thomas Brewar and Thomas Flud (shot by Indians) ; Great Nele, a Dane, and Diego, Drake's Cimarron servant (died of their wounds).

At Lacerone :

Richard Minivy (killed by Spaniards).

¹ See Vaux, p. 177.

² See note 2, p. 42.

³ According to da Silva one of these was a gentleman of position. See p. 379.

At Callao:

Thomas (killed by Spaniards)¹.

Off Cape of Good Hope:

One man unnamed (died of illness)².

Names of Englishmen known to have returned from the Straits of Magellan to England:

Captain John Winter	} In the <i>Elisabeth</i> .
Mr Edward Cliffe	
Mr John Cooke ³ (Cowke)	
Peter Carder.	

Names of those whose fate is unknown, but who are mentioned in documents relating to the earlier part of the voyage before the ships were separated in the South Sea⁴:

Mr Nicholas Anthony	John Audley
Mr Charles	Luke Adden
Mr Caube	John Cowrttes
Mr Thomas Cuttill or Cuttyll	William Cowke ⁷
Mr William Markham	John Deane
Mr John Sarocold	Thomas Ffloud
Mr Emanuell Watkyns ⁵	Thomas Grig
Mr Leonard Vicarye ⁶	George, a Musician

¹ See p. 47.

² As an offset to the above record of the deaths of Englishmen during the voyage the following record should be added: Deaths caused by Englishmen, one Patagonian. See Vaux, p. 60. Spaniards, None. Spaniards wounded by Englishmen, in face: Giuseppe de Parraces? or San Juan de Anton? neither of whom mentions this in his deposition, pp. 156 and 185. See also p. 423.

³ John Cook's name appears among those of the witnesses who signed the document printed by Vaux on p. 169.

⁴ These names are collected from the English authorities in Vaux, Hakluyt and Purchas (*op. cit.*).

⁵ Although he is not mentioned as such, the signature of Emanuell Watkyns appears three times with those of "gentlemen" in the documents relating to the Doughty trial, Vaux, Appendix I.

⁶ Described as "a very assured friend unto Master Thomas Doughty," whom Drake termed "a crafty lawyer." See Vaux, p. 204. It is probable that he returned with John Winter and John Cooke on the *Elisabeth*, and aided the latter in composing his malicious account of the Doughty trial which is published as Appendix IV by Vaux.

⁷ See p. 351, note 1.

⁸ Mentioned by Purchas only, *op. cit.* vol. XVI, p. 117.

Richard Graye
John Gallawaye
Christopher Hayman
William Haynes

Thomas Marttyn
Richard Morgyn
Littell Nele, a Fleming
Edward Worrall

On summarising the above classified lists they will be found to contain the names of 51 members of Drake's company who made the voyage round the world with him; of 17 who died; of 3 who returned in the *Elisabeth* from the Strait of Magellan; of Peter Carder, who returned alone, and of 24 whose fate is unknown, making a total of 96 names which have been preserved, or 97 if Drake is included¹.

The deaths of four men are recorded whose names are not given, but thereby the number of members of the company accounted for is raised to 101. Moreover, although they did not sign the interrogatories, 8 other men and boys, completed the voyage with Drake. With a sum total of 109 thus accounted for, it is obvious that there remain about 50 unnamed men, of whom it is not known how many were lost in the *Marigold*, were left in the Moluccas, or returned to England with John Winter in the *Elisabeth*.

appropriate supplement to the signatures of his
the facsimile of a document bearing Francis Drake's
autograph closes the present volume².

Differing from the majority of his signatures that are known, in this example the Christian name is not abbreviated and appears as "Frauncis."

¹ The name of John Fry, who was left behind at Mogadore and returned to England, is not included, as he did not cross the Ocean. See Vaux, p. 11.

² Public Record Office. *State Papers, Dom.*, El. vol. 144, No. 17, 1. This document, which is dated the 5th of November, 1580, reads: "The Regester of suche tressur as is dellevered unto Xpofer Harres esquer, to be safly conducted and dellevered in to the tower wth the number of peces in Every packe and what the (*sic*) contained in waight at five score and twelve pounds every hundred."

For the English and Spanish estimates of the amount of treasure seized by Drake, see Corbett, *op. cit.* vol. II, Appendix F, p. 408.

4
 10
 1580

The Register of the Treasurie as is delivered
 into the Tower of London to be kept & conducted
 and delivered in to the Tower as the number
 of pence in every pound and ought to be contained
 in writing at the end of every hundred

number.	hundred.	of	pounds.	pence
1	1	3	27	7
2	2	0	03	8
3	2	0	04	8
4	2	0	20	8
5	2	0	16	8
6	2	0	11	8
7	2	0	04	8
8	2	0	14	8
9	2	0	07	8
10	2	0	14	8
11	2	0	12	8
12	2	0	08	8
13	2	0	15	8
14	2	0	11	8
15	2	0	07	8
16	2	0	04	8
17	2	0	08	8
18	2	0	09	8
19	2	0	19	8
20	2	0	21	16
21	2	0	14	8
22	2	0	18	8
23	2	0	00	8
24	2	0	02	8
25	2	0	10	8
26	2	0	20	8
27	2	0	11	8
28	2	1	02	8
29	2	0	08	8
30	2	1	02	8
31	2	0	07	8
32	2	0	08	8
33	2	0	00	8
34	2	0	01	12
35	2	0	07	8
36	2	1	02	8
37	2	0	03	12
38	2	0	10	12
39	2	0	15	8
40	2	0	08	12
41	2	0	03	12
42	2	0	19	8
43	2	0	08	8
44	2	0	20	8
45	2	0	20	8
46	2	0	00	8

E. Tremayne



Frauncis Drake

Chri: Harris

REGISTER OF THE TREASURE,
 to be conveyed and delivered into the Tower, signed by Frauncis Drake,
 E. Tremayne and Chri: Harris.
 Fac-simile of original preserved at Public Record Office,

APPENDIX

I

LETTER FROM QUEEN ELISABETH TO E. TREMAYNE,
ORDERING THAT THE SUM OF £10,000 WAS TO BE
LEFT IN THE HANDS OF FRANCIS DRAKE¹.

Elizabeth R.

Trustye and welbeloved we greet you well whereas by letters lately wrytten unto yow by owre cōmaunment from secretarye Walsyngham you were wylled in owre name to geve your assystaunce unto owre welbeloved subject Francys Drake for the save bestowing of certeyn bullyon lately by him browght into this owre realme w^{ch} owre plesure is shoold now be sent up as you shall further understand by the seyde Drake, wherin you are to assyst him according to sooche dyrectyon as you shall receyve from owre p^{iv}ye cowncell: Thes are therfor to let you understande y^t we are pleased for certeyn good consyderatyons that ther shoold be lefte in the handes of the seyde Drake so myche of the seyde bullyon by him browght home as may ammounte unto the somme of ten thowsend pownde w^{ch} we requyre you to see performed accordingly And forasmuche as for sundrye good respecte we thinke yt verry meet that the leving of the seyde somme in his handes shoold be kept most

¹ Public Record Office. *State Papers, Dom.*, El. vol. 143, No. 30, 1580, October 22.

In the letter already cited from the recipient of the above to Secretary Walsingham, dated November 8th, 1580, there occurs the following interesting passage:

"Now to give yo^r ho. some understanding how I in p^ticuler, p^{re}ceded wth Mr Drake I have at no tyme entred in to the accompt to know more of the verie...value of the treasure then he made me acquaynted wth And to saie trulie I p^{er}sued him to imparte no more to me then neded For I saw him cōmanded in her ma^{ties} behalf that he should not reveale the certeintie to no man living...

"And to obs^{er}ve hir ma^{ties} cōmaudemēt for the secrete deliverie or leavinge of the 10,000^{li} to remayne in his hande we agreed that he should take it to himself out of that porcon that was landed secretlie and to remove the same out of the place before my sonne Harrys and I shoulde come to the wainge and registring of that w^{ch} was lefte. And so it is done accordingle no creature by me made p^{ri}vie unto it but himself and miself no p^{ri}vier to it then as you maie p^{er}ceive by this...."

secreat to your selfe alone we therfor charge you that the same be used accordyngly wherof we need not to doubt having hertofore by former exsperyenc had so good prooffe of your secrecie Given at owre manner of Rychemonde the xxiiijth of Octobre in the xxijth yeare of owre reygne.

Endorsed: To o^r right trustie and welbeloved servant Edmunde Tremayne.

22 Octob. 1580. From her Ma^{ty} to Mr Edm: Tremayne.

2

A PROIECT OF A CORPORATYON OF SOCHE AS SHALL
VENTEUR VNTO SOCHE DOMYNIONS AND CONTREYS
SYTUATE BAYONDE THE EQUYNOCTYALL LINE¹.

Imprimis y^t yt may please herr Ma^{tie} to graunt lyke p^rvyleges as have bene graunted by herr H^s and her progenytors vnto her subiectes tradyng into the domynions of the Emperor of Russia.

Item that in consyderatyon of the late notable dyscoverye made by Francys Drake of sooche dominions as are scytuated beyonde the said Equynoctyall lyne y^t yt may please her Ma^{tie} that he may during his naturall lyfe supplye the place of Governor of the seyde compaignye: and in consyderatyon of his great trayayll and hazarde of his person in the seyde dyscoverye to have during his seyde lyfe a tenthe parte of the proffits of sooche commodytes as shall be brought into this realme from the partes above remembred.

Item that there shall be reserved vnto her Ma^{tye} a Vth parte of the proffyt of sooche mynes of goold and sylver as shall be found in these contreys y^t are hereafter to be discovered and are not lawfully possessed by any other Christyan Prynce.

Item y^t yt may please her Ma^{tye} to erect an howsse of contratays² w^t sooche orders as were graunted by the K. of Spayne.

[*Endorsed.*] A proiect of a corporation
for sooche as are to traveyle
beyonde the lyne

¹ *State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, vol. 144, No. 44.

² The establishment of an equivalent to the *Casa de Contratacion* in Seville, or Board of Trade, was evidently advocated here.

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- 1899 Baer, Joseph & Co., Messrs., Hochstrasse 6, Frankfort-on-Main, Germany.
 1847 Bagram, John Ernest, Esq., 10, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.
 1912 Baird, H. A., Esq., West House, Bothwell, N.B.
 1909 Baldwin, Stanley, Esq., M.P., Astley Hall, nr. Stourport.
 1899 Ball, John B., Esq., Ashburton Cottage, Putney Heath, S.W.
 1893 Barclay, Hugh Gurney, Esq., Colney Hall, Norwich.
 1911 Barwick, G. F., Esq., British Museum.
 1899 Basset, M. René, Directeur de l'Ecole Supérieure des Lettres d'Alger, Villa Louise, rue Denfert Rochereau, Algiers.
 1894 Baxter, Hon. James Phinney, Esq., 61, Deering Street, Portland, Maine, U.S.A.
 1896 Beaumont, Admiral Sir Lewis Anthony, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., St. Georges, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex.
 1913 Beaumont, Lieut. H., Rhoscolyn, Holyhead, N. Wales.
 1904 Beetem, Charles Gilbert, Esq., 110, South Hanover Street, Carlisle, Pa., U.S.A.
 1899 Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, Donegall Square North, Belfast.
 1913 Belfield, T. Broom, Esq., 1905, Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1896 Belhaven and Stenton, Col. The Right Hon. the Lord, R.E., 41, Lennox Gardens, S.W. (*Vice-President*).
 1913 Bennett, Ira A. Esq., Editor *Washington Post*, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1847 Berlin Geographical Society (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde), Wilhelmstrasse 25, Berlin, S.W., 48.
 1847 Berlin, the Royal Library of, Opernplatz, Berlin, W.
 1847 Berlin University, Geographical Institute of, Georgenstrasse 34-36 Berlin N.W. 7.
 1914 Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii Island.
 1913 Beuf, L., 6, Via Caroli, Genoa.

- 1913 Bewsher, F. W., Esq., 25, Brook Green, W.
 1911 Bingham, Professor Hiram, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
 1899 Birmingham Central Free Library, Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.
 1847 Birmingham Old Library, The, Margaret Street, Birmingham.
 1910 Birmingham University Library.
 1899 Board of Education, The Keeper, Science Library, Science Museum, South Kensington, S.W.
 1847 Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 1894 Bonaparte, H. H. Prince Roland Napoléon, Avenue d'Jéna 10, Paris.
 1847 Boston Athenæum Library, 10½, Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1847 Boston Public Library, Copley Square, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1912 Bourke, Hubert, Esq., Feltrimores, Harlow, Essex.
 1899 Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, U.S.A.
 1894 Bower, Major-General Hamilton, c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross.
 1896 Bowring, Sir Thomas B., 7, Palace Gate, Kensington, W.
 1912 Boyd-Richardson, Lieutenant S. B., R.N., Wade Court, Havant, Hants.
 1914 Braislin, Dr. William C., 556, Washington Avenue, Brooklyn, U.S.A.
 1906 Brereton, The Rev. William, The Rectory, Steeple Gidding, Peterboro'.
 1893 Brighton Public Library, Royal Pavilion, Church Street, Brighton.
 1890 British Guiana Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society, Georgetown, Demerara.
 1847 British Museum, Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities.
 1847 British Museum, Department of Printed Books.
 1896 Brock, Henry G., Esq., 1612, Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1909 Brooke, John Arthur, Esq., J.P., Fenay Hall, Huddersfield.
 1899 Brookline Public Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1899 Brooklyn Mercantile Library, 197, Montague Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1899 Brown, Arthur William Whateley, Esq., 62, Carlisle Mansions, Carlisle Place, Victoria Street, S.W.
 1896 Buda-Pesth, The Geographical Institute of the University of, Hungary.
 1910 Buenos Aires, Biblioteca Nacional (c/o E. Terquem, 19, Rue Scribe, Paris).
 1890 Burns, Capt. John William, Leesthorpe Hall, Melton Mowbray.
 1914 Byers, Gerald, Esq., c/o Messrs. Butterfield and Swire, Shanghai.

- 1913 Cadogan, Lieut. Francis, R.N., H.M.S. "Argyll."
 1903 California, University of, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A.
 1847 Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.
 1911 Canada, Department of the Naval Service, Ottawa.
 1847 Canada, The Parliament Library, Ottawa.
 1896 Cardiff Public Library, Trinity Street, Cardiff.
 1847 Carlisle, The Rt. Hon. the Earl of, Castle Howard, York.
 1847 Carlton Club Library, 94, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1899 Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A.
 1914 Caserly, John Bernard, Esq., San Mateo, California, U.S.A.
 1910 Cattarns, Richard, Esq., 7, Gloucester Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
 1899 Chambers, Captain Bertram Mordaunt, R.N., c/o Messrs. Cocks, Biddulph and Co., 43, Charing Cross, S.W.
 1910 Chapelot et Cie., 36, Rue et Passage Dauphine, Paris.
 1913 Charleston Library, Charleston, U.S.A.
 1910 Chicago, Geographical Society of, P.O. Box 223, Chicago.
 1899 Chicago Public Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1899 Chicago University Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1896 Christ Church, Oxford.
 1847 Christiania University Library, Christiania, Norway.
 1913 Churchill, Arnold, Esq., Stone House, Broadstairs.
 1899 Cincinnati Public Library, Ohio, U.S.A.

- 1907 Clark, Arthur H., Esq., Caxton Buildings, Cleveland, Ohio.
 1913 Clark, James Cooper, Esq., Ladyhill House, Elgin, N. B.
 1913 Clarke, Sir Rupert, Bart., Clarke Buildings, Bourke Street, Melbourne.
 1903 Clay, John, Esq., University Press and Burrell's Corner, Cambridge.
 1913 Coates, O. R., Esq., British Consulate-General, Shanghai.
 1847 Colonial Office, The, Downing Street, S.W.
 1899 Columbia University, Library of, New York, U.S.A.
 1896 Conway, Sir William Martin, Allington Castle, Maidstone, Kent.
 1903 Cooke, William Charles, Esq., Vailima, Bishopstow, Cork.
 1847 Copenhagen Royal Library (Det Store Kongelige Bibliothek), Copenhagen.
 1894 Cora, Professor Guido, M.A., Via Nazionale, 181, Rome.
 1847 Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.
 1903 Corney, Bolton Glanvill, Esq., I.S.O., 19, Abingdon Court, Kensington, W.
 1899 Corning, C. R., Esq., 36 Wall Street, New York.
 1893 Cow, John, Esq., Elfinward, Hayward's Heath, Sussex.
 1902 Cox, Alexander G., Esq., Imperial Railways of North China, Tientsin.
 1908 Crewdson, W., Esq., J.P., Southside, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1904 Croydon Public Libraries, Central Library, Town Hall, Croydon.
 1893 Curzon of Kedleston, The Right Hon. Earl, G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., 1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.
 1911 Cutting, Lady Sybil, c/o the Earl of Desart, 2, Rutland Gardens, S.W.

- 1913 Dalgliesh, Percy, Esq., Guatemala, C.A.
 1847 Dalton, Rev. Canon John Neale, C.M.G., C.V.O., 4, The Cloisters, Windsor.
 1913 Dames, Mansell Longworth, Esq., Crichmere, Edgeborough Road, Guildford.
 1899 Dampier, Gerald Robert, Esq., I.C.S., Dehra Dun, N.W.P., India.
 1847 Danish Royal Naval Library (Det Kongelige Danske Søkaart Archiv), Copenhagen.
 1912 Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N.H., U.S.A.
 1908 Darwin, Major Leonard, late R.E., 12, Egerton Place, S.W.
 1894 De Bertodano, Baldomero Hyacinth, Esq., Cowbridge House, Malmesbury, Wilts.
 1911 Delbanco, D., Esq., 9, Mincing Lane, E.C.
 1899 Detroit Public Library, Michigan, U.S.A.
 1893 Dijon University Library, Rue Monge, Dijon, Côte d'Or, France.
 1899 Dresden Geographical Society (Verein für Erdkunde), Kleine Brüdergasse 21^{II}, Dresden.
 1902 Dublin, Trinity College Library.
 1910 Dunn, J. H., Esq., Coombe Cottage, Kingston Hill, S.W.

- 1899 École Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi, Indo-Chine Française.
 1913 École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris.
 1892 Edinburgh Public Library, George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh.
 1847 Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh.
 1847 Edwards, Francis, Esq., 83, High Street, Marylebone, W.
 1913 Eliot, Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., C.B., The University Hong Kong.
 1906 Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
 1912 Ewing, Arthur, Esq.

- 1910 Fairbrother, Colonel W. T., C.B., Indian Army, Bareilly, N.P., India.
 1911 Fayal, The Most Noble the Marquis de, Lisbon.

- 1899 Fellowes Athenæum, 46, Millmont Street Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1894 Fisher, Arthur, Esq., The Mazy, Tiverton, Devon.
 1896 Fitzgerald, Major Edward Arthur, 5th Dragoon Guards.
 1914 FitzGibbon, F. J., Esq., Casilla 106, La Paz, Bolivia.
 1847 Foreign Office of Germany (Auswärtiges Amt), Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin, W.
 1893 Forrést, George William, Esq., C.I.E., Rose Bank, Ifley, Oxford.
 1902 Foster, Francis Apthorp, Esq., Edgartown, Mass., U.S.A.
 1893 Foster, William, Esq., C.I.E., India Office, S.W.
- 1911 García, Señor Genaro, Apartado 337, Mexico D.F.
 1847 George, Charles William, Esq., 51, Hampton Road, Bristol.
 1901 Gill, William Harrison, Esq., Marunouchi, Tokyo (c/o Messrs. Nichols,
 Ocean House, 24/5, Great Tower Street, E.C.
 1847 Glasgow University Library, Glasgow.
 1913 Glyn, The Hon. Mrs. Maurice, Albury Hall, Much Hadham.
 1880 Godman, Frederick Du Cane, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., 45, Pont Street, S.W.
 1905 Goldie, The Right. Hon. Sir George Taubman, K.C.M.G., F.R.S., Naval &
 Military Club, Piccadilly, W.
 1847 Göttingen University Library, Göttingen, Germany.
 1877 Gray, Albert, Esq., K.C. (President), Catherine Lodge, Trafalgar Square,
 Chelsea, S.W.
 1894 Gray, Matthew Hamilton, Esq., Lessness Park, Abbey Wood, Kent.
 1903 Greenlee, William B., Esq., 130 Kenesaw Terrace, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1899 Griffiths, John G., Esq., 4, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
 1899 Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1847 Guildhall Library, E.C.
 1887 Guillemard, Francis Henry Hill, Esq., M.A., M.D., The Old Mill House,
 Trumpington, Cambridge.
- 1910 Hackley Public Library, Muskegon, Mich, U.S.A.
 1847 Hamburg Commerz-Bibliothek, Hamburg, Germany.
 1901 Hammersmith Public Libraries, Carnegie (Central) Library, Hammersmith, W.
 1898 Hannen, The Hon. Henry Arthur, The Hall, West Farleigh, Kent.
 1913 Hargreaves, Walter Ernest, Esq., Nazeing, Essex.
 1906 Harrison, Carter H., Esq. (c/o Messrs. Stevens and Brown).
 1913 Harrison, George L., Esq., 400, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.
 1905 Harrison, William P., Esq., 1021, Lawrence Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1847 Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
 1899 Harvie-Brown, John Alexander, Esq., Dunipace, Larbert, Stirlingshire.
 1913 Hay, E. Alan, Esq., 14, Kensington Court, W.
 1887 Heawood, Edward, Esq., M.A., Church Hill, Merstham, Surrey (Treasurer).
 1899 Heidelberg University Library, Heidelberg (Koestersche Buchhandlung).
 1904 Henderson, George, Esq., Tower House, The Park, Harrow.
 1903 Henderson, Turner, Esq., Studley Priory, Oxford.
 1890 Hervey, Dudley Francis Amelius, Esq., C.M.G., Westfields, Aldeburgh,
 Suffolk.
 1899 Hiersemann, Herr Karl Wilhelm, Königsstrasse, 3, Leipzig.
 1874 Hippisley, Alfred Edward, Esq., 8, Herbert Crescent, Hans Place, W.
 1904 Holdich, Colonel Sir Thomas Hungerford, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., R.E.,
 41, Courtfield Road, S.W.
 1913 Holman, R. H., Esq., "Wynnstay," Putney Hill, S.W.
 1913 Hong Kong University, c/o Messrs. Longmans & Co., 38, Paternoster Row, E.C.
 1899 Hoover, Herbert Clarke, Esq., The Red House, Hornton Street, Ken-
 sington, W.

- 1887 Horner, Sir John Francis Fortescue, K.C.V.O., Mells Park, Frome, Somerset.
 1911 Hoskins, G. H., Esq., Sydney.
 1890 Hoyt Public Library, East Saginaw, Mich., U.S.A.
 1909 Hubbard, H. M., Esq., H6, The Albany, Piccadilly, W.
 1899 Hügel, Baron Anatole A. A. von, Curator, Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.
 1913 Hughes, R. H. Esq., 22, Sussex Mansions, Sussex Place, S.W.
 1894 Hull Public Libraries, Baker Street, Hull.
 1913 Humphreys, John, Esq., 26, Clarendon Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.

- 1912 Illinois, University of, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
 1899 Im Thurn, Sir Everard, K.C.M.G., C.B., 39, Lexham Gardens, W.
 1847 India Office, Downing Street, S.W. [20 COPIES.]
 1899 Ingle, William Bruncker, Esq., 4, Orchard Road, Blackheath, S.E.
 1892 Inner Temple, Hon. Society of the, Temple, E.C.

- 1899 Jackson, Stewart Douglas, Esq., 61, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
 1898 James, Arthur Curtiss, Esq., 92 Park Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
 1896 James, Walter B., Esq., M.D., 17, West 54th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1912 Jenkins, Captain F. W. R., Apartado 331, Guatemala.
 1907 Johannesburg Public Library, Johannesburg, South Africa.
 1847 John Carter Brown Library, 357, Benefit Street, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
 1847 John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.
 1847 Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
 1899 Johnson, W. Morton, Esq., Woodleigh, Altrincham
 1910 Jones, L. C., Esq., M.D., Falmouth, Mass., U.S.A.
 1913 Jowett, The Rev. Hardy, Ping Kiang, Hunan, China.

- 1903 Kansas University Library, Lawrence, Kans., U.S.A.
 1887 Keltie, John Scott, Esq., LL.D., Secretary R.G.S., 1, Kensington Gore, S.W.
 1909 Kesteven, G. H., Esq., 2, Hungerford Street, Calcutta.
 1899 Kiel, Royal University of, Kiel, Schleswig-Holstein.
 1899 Kimberley Public Library, Kimberley, Cape Colony.
 1907 Kindberg, Captain J. P., Göteborg, Sweden.
 1898 Kinder, Charles William, Esq., C.M.G., Kelvin, Avondale Road, Fleet, Hants.
 1890 King's Inn, The Hon. Society of the, Henrietta Street, Dublin.
 1899 Kitching, John, Esq., Oaklands, Queen's Road, Kingston Hill, S.W.
 1912 Koebel, W. H., Esq., Author's Club, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.
 1913 Koloniaal Instituut, Amsterdam.
 1910 Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie, The Hague.

- 1899 Langton, J. P., Esq., 802, Spruce Street, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
 1899 Larchmont Light Club, Larchmont, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1913 Laufer, B. G., Esq., Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

- 1899 Leeds Library, 18, Commercial Street, Leeds.
 1899 Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A.
 1893 Leipzig, Library of the University of Leipzig.
 1912 Leland Stanford Junior University, Library of, Stanford University, Cal. U.S.A.
 1899 Levy, Judah, Esq., 17, Greville Place, N.W.
 1905 Lincoln, Arthur, Esq., 7, Nassau Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1912 Lind, Walter, Esq., 1^o Calle, Guatemala, C.A.
 1899 Lindsay-Smith, Fred. Alex., Esq., J.P., 18, Sussex Place, Regent's Park.
 1847 Liverpool Free Public Library, William Brown Street, Liverpool.
 1896 Liverpool Geographical Society, 14, Hargreaves Buildings, Chapel Street, Liverpool.
 1899 Liverpool, University of Liverpool.
 1911 Loder, Gerald W. E., Esq., F.S.A., Wakehurst Place, Ardingly, Sussex.
 1899 Loesch, Messrs. J., and Co., Via Due Macelli, 88
 1847 London Institution, 11, Finsbury Circus, E.C.
 1847 London Library, 12, St. James's Square, S.W.
 1899 London University, South Kensington, S.W.
 1895 Long Island Historical Society, Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1899 Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
 1899 Lowrey, Joseph, Esq., The Hermitage, Loughton, Essex.
 1912 Luard, Major Charles Eckford, M.A., D.S.O., Indore, Central India.
 1880 Lucas, Sir Charles Prestwood, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., 65, St. George's Square, S.W.
 1895 Lucas, Frederic Wm., Esq., 21, Surrey Street, Strand, W.C.
 1912 Lukach, H. C. Esq., M.A., Government House, Cyprus.
 1898 Lydenberg, H. M., Esq., New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1880 Lyons University Library, Lyon, France.
 1899 Lyttleton-Annesley, Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Lyttelton, K.C.V.O., Templemere, Oatlands Park, Weybridge.
- 1910 McCulloch, H. A., Esq., Banco Aleman Transatlantico, Buenos Aires.
 1910 MacDonald, H. E. The Right Hon. Sir Claude M., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., 46, Chester Square, S.W.
 1899 Macrae, Charles Colin, Esq., 93, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
 1908 Maggs Brothers, Messrs., 109, Strand, W.C.
 1847 Manchester Public Free Libraries, King Street, Manchester.
 1899 Manierre, George, Esq., 112w, Adams Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1880 Markham, Admiral Sir Albert Hastings, K.C.B., Belmont Paddocks, Faversham.
 1852 Markham, Sir Clements Robert, K.C.B., F.R.S., 21, Eccleston Square, S.W. (*Vice-President*).
 1892 Marquand, Henry, Esq., Whitegates Farm, Bedford, New York, U.S.A.
 1899 Martelli, Ernest Wynne, Esq., 4, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
 1847 Massachusetts Historical Society, 1154, Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1905 Maudslay, Alfred Percival, Esq., Morney Cross, Hereford.
 1899 McClurg, Messrs. A. C., & Co., 215-221, Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1914 Means, Philip A., Esq., 196, Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
 1913 Mensing, A. W. M., Esq. (Frederik Muller and Co.), Amsterdam.
 1901 Merriman, J. A., Esq., Standard Bank of South Africa, Durban.
 1911 Messer, Allan E., Esq., 2, Lyall Street, Belgrave Square, S.W.
 1913 Meyendorff, Baron de, Ambassade de Russie, Madrid.
 1893 Michigan, University of, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A.
 1899 Middletown, Conn., Wesleyan University Library, U.S.A.
 1904 Mikkelsen, Michael A., Esq., 610, South Fifth Avenue, Mt. Vernon, New York.
 1847 Mills, Colonel Dudley Acland, R.E., Droaks, Beaulieu, Hants.

- 1912 Milward, Graham, Esq., 77, Colmore Row, Birmingham.
 1896 Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, U.S.A.
 1895 Minneapolis Athenæum, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
 1899 Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A.
 1899 Mitchell Library, 21, Miller Street, Glasgow.
 1899 Mitchell, Wm., Esq., 14, Forbesfield Road, Aberdeen.
 1899 Monson, The Right Hon. Lord, C.V.O., Burton Hall, Lincoln.
 1901 Moreno, Dr. Francisco J., La Plata Museum, La Plata, Argentine Republic.
 1893 Morris, Henry Cecil Low, Esq., M.D., The Steyne, Bognor, Sussex.
 1899 Morrison, George Ernest, Esq., M.D., *Times* Correspondent, c/o H.B.M. Legation, Peking.
 1911 Morrison, R. E., Esq., Ardoch, Partickhill, Glasgow.
 1899 Morrisson, James W., Esq., 200-206, Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1913 Moule, The Rev. A. C., Littlebredy, Dorchester.
 1895 Moxon, Alfred Edward, Esq., c/o Mrs. Gough, The Lodge, Souldern, near Banbury.
 1847 Munich Royal Library (Kgl. Hof u. Staats-Bibliothek), Munich, Germany.

- 1913 Natal Society's Library, Pietermaritzburg, S. Africa.
 1899 Nathan, Lt.-Col. Sir Matthew, G.C.M.G., R.E., Brandon House, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.
 1894 Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W.
 1909 Nebraska University Library, Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A.
 1913 Needham, J. E., Esq., Bombay Club, Bombay.
 1880 Netherlands, Royal Geographical Society of the (Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap), Singel 421, Amsterdam.
 1899 Netherlands, Royal Library of the, The Hague.
 1847 Newberry Library, The, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1847 Newcastle-upon-Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society, Westgate Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 1899 Newcastle-upon-Tyne Public Library, New Bridge Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 1894 New London Public Library, Conn., U.S.A.
 1899 New South Wales, Public Library of, Sydney, N.S.W.
 1899 New York Athletic Club, Central Park, South, New York City, U.S.A.
 1895 New York Public Library, 40, Lafayette Place, New York City, U.S.A.
 1847 New York State Library, Albany, New York, U.S.A.
 1894 New York Yacht Club, 37 West 44 Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1897 New Zealand, The High Commissioner for, 13, Victoria Street, S.W.
 1911 Nijhoff, Martinus, The Hague, Holland.
 1896 North Adams Public Library, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
 1893 Northcliffe, The Right Hon. Lord, Elmwood, St. Peter's, Thanet.
 1899 Nottingham Public Library Sherwood Street, Nottingham.

- 1890 Oriental Club, 18, Hanover Square, W.
 1902 Otani, Kozui, Esq., Nishi Honganji, Horikawa, Kyoto, Japan.
 1899 Oxford and Cambridge Club, 71, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1847 Oxford Union Society, Oxford.

- 1911 Pan-American Union, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1847 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rue de Richelieu, Paris.
 1847 Paris, Institut de France, Quai de Conti 23, Paris.

- 1899 Parlett, Harold George, Esq., H.B.M. Consulate, Dairen, Japan.
 1880 Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
 1908 Pearson, Dr. F. S., Coombe House, Kingston Hill, S.W.
 1847 Peckover of Wisbech, The Right Hon. Lord, Bank House, Wisbech (*Vice-President*).
 1893 Peek, Sir Wilfred, Bart., c/o Mr. Grover, Rousdon, Lyme Regis.
 1911 Penrose, R. A. F., Esq., Bullitt Buildings, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
 1899 Pequet Library, Southport, Conn., U.S.A.
 1880 Petherick, Edward Augustus, Esq., Commonwealth Library, Melbourne, Australia.
 1895 Philadelphia Free Library, Pa., U.S.A.
 1899 Philadelphia, Library Company of, N.W. corner Juniper & Locust Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1899 Philadelphia, Union League Club, 8, Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1899 Philadelphia, University Club, 1510 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1909 Plymouth, Officers' Library, Royal Marine Barracks.
 1899 Plymouth Proprietary and Cottonian Library, Cornwall Street, Plymouth.
 1899 Portico Library, 57, Mosley Street, Manchester.
 1912 Provincial Library of British Columbia, Victoria, British Columbia.
 1911 Pykett, The Rev. G. F., Anglo-Chinese School, Methodist Epis. Mission, Penang.
 1913 Pym, C. Guy, Esq., 35, Cranley Gardens, S.W.
- 1894 Quaritch, Bernard Alfred, Esq., 11, Grafton Street, New Bond Street, W. (12 COPIES).
 1913 Quincey, Edmund de Q., Esq., Oakwood, Chislehurst.
- 1890 Raffles Museum and Library, Singapore.
 1847 Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1899 Reggio, André C., Esq., 43, Tremont Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1895 Rhodes, Josiah, Esq., The Elms, Lytham, Lancashire.
 1907 Ricketts, D. P., Esq., Imperial Chinese Railways, Tientsin, China.
 1882 Riggs, T. L., Esq., 1311, Mass. Avenue, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1911 Rio de Janeiro, Archivo Publico Nacional, Sa da Republica, No. 26.
 1887 Rockhill, H.E. the Hon. William Woodville, United States Ambassador, Constantinople.
 1899 Rodd, H.E. The Right Hon. Sir James Rennell, G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., C.B., British Embassy, Rome.
 1906 Rotterdamsch Leeskabinet, Rotterdam.
 1911 Royal Anthropological Institute, 50, Great Russell Street, W.C.
 1893 Royal Artillery Institution, Woolwich.
 1847 Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.
 1896 Royal Cruising Club, 1, Bolton Street, Piccadilly, W.
 1847 Royal Engineers' Institute, Chatham.
 1847 Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, W.
 1890 Royal Scottish Geographical Society, Synod Hall, Castle Terrace, Edinburgh.
 1897 Royal Societies Club, 63, St. James's Street, S.W.
 1847 Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W.
 1899 Runciman, The Right Hon. Walter, M.P., Doxford, Chathill, Northumberland.
 1904 Ruxton, Captain Upton Fitz Herbert, Little Drove House, Singleton, Sussex.
 1900 Ryley, John Horton, Esq., 8, Rue d'Auteuil, Paris.

- 1899 St. Andrews University, St. Andrews.
 1899 St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, Flintshire, N. Wales.
 1893 St. John's, New Brunswick, Free Public Library.
 1890 St. Louis Mercantile Library, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
 1899 St. Martin's-in-the-Fields Free Public Library, 115, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
 1847 St. Petersburg University Library, St. Petersburg.
 1894 St. Wladimir University, Kiew, Russia.
 1911 Saise, Walter, Esq., D.Sc., M. Inst. C.E., Stapleton, Bristol.
 1913 Salby, George, Esq., 65, Great Russell Street, W.C.
 1912 Sanford, J. B., Esq., H.B.M. Vice-Consul, Monterrey, N. L., Mexico.
 1899 San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A.
 1899 Selater, Dr. William Lutley, 10, Sloane Court, S.W.
 1899 Seattle Public Library, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.
 1906 Seligmann, Professor Charles Gabriel, 36, Finchley Road, N.W.
 1894 Seymour, Admiral of the Fleet the Right Hon. Sir Edward Hobart, G.C.B.,
 O.M., G.C.V.O., LL.D., Queen Anne's Mansions, St. James's Park, S.W.
 1898 Sheffield Free Public Libraries, Surrey Street, Sheffield.
 1847 Signet Library, 11, Parliament Square, Edinburgh.
 1890 Sinclair, Mrs. William Frederic, 102, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.
 1910 Skimming, E. H. B., Esq., 6, Cleveland Terrace, W.
 1913 Skinner, Major R. M., R. A. M. Corps, c/o Messrs. Holt and Co., 3, Whitehall
 Place, S.W.
 1912 Skipper, Mervyn G., Esq., care of Eastern Extensions Tel. Co., Electra House,
 Finsbury Pavement, E.C.
 1904 Smith, John Langford, Esq., H. B. M. Consular Service, China, c/o E. Green-
 wood, Esq., Frith Knowl, Elstree.
 1906 Smith, J. de Berniere, Esq., 4, Gloucester Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
 1913 Smith, The Right Hon. James Parker, Linburn, Kirknewton, Midlothian.
 1896 Smithers, F. Oldershaw, Esq., Dashwood House, 9, New Broad Street, E.C.
 1899 Società Geografica Italiana, Via del Plebiscito 102, Rome.
 1847 Société de Géographie, Boulevard St. Germain, 184, Paris.
 1909 Solomon, Sir E. P., The Senate, Cape Town.
 1899 South African Public Library, Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town, South Africa.
 1904 Stanton, John, Esq., High Street, Chorley, Lancashire.
 1912 Stein, Herr Johann, K. Ungar. Universitäts-Buchhandlung, Kolozsvár,
 Hungary.
 1847 Stevens, Son, and Stiles, Messrs. Henry, 39, Great Russell Street, W.C.
 1847 Stockholm, Royal Library of (Kungl. Biblioteket), Sweden.
 1895 Stockton Public Library, Stockton, Cal., U.S.A.
 1905 Storer, Albert H., Esq., Ridgefield, Ct., U.S.A.
 1890 Strachey, Lady, 67, Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.
 1904 Suarez, Colonel Don Pedro (Bolivian Legation), Santa Cruz, 74, Compayne
 Gardens, N.W.
 1909 Swan, J. D. C., Dr., 25, Ruthven Street, Glasgow.
 1908 Sydney, University of, New South Wales.
 1899 Sykes, Colonel Percy Molesworth, C.M.G., 4, Lyall Street, Belgrave Square,
 S.W.
 1914 Tamplin, Lewis H., Esq., c/o Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co., Ltd., Hong
 Kong.
 1899 Tangye, Richard Trevithick (Gilbertstone, Esq., LL.B., 40, Bramham
 Gardens, S.W.
 1894 Taylor, Captain William Robert, 1, Daysbrook Road, Streatham Hill, W.
 1910 Teleki, Count Paul, Jozsef-ter., 7, Budapest V.
 1899 Temple, Lieut.-Col. Sir Richard Carnac, Bart., C.I.E., The Nash, nr. Worcester
 1894 Thomson, Basil Home, Esq., 81, Victoria Road, Kensington, W.

- 1906 Thomson, Colonel Charles FitzGerald, late 7th Hussars, St. James's Club, 106, Piccadilly, W.
- 1913 Thurston, E. Coppée, Esq., Milnthorpe, St. John's Road, Harrow.
- 1904 Todd, Commander George James, R.N., The Manse, Kingsbarns, Fife.
- 1896 Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
- 1890 Toronto University, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
- 1911 Tower, Sir Reginald, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., 8, Baker Street, Portman Square, W.
- 1847 Travellers' Club, 106, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1899 Trinder, Arnold, Esq., River House, Walton-on-Thames.
- 1913 Trinder, W. H., Esq., The Old Vicarage, Kingswood, Surrey.
- 1847 Trinity College, Cambridge.
- 1847 Trinity House, The Hon. Corporation of, Tower Hill, E.C.
- 1911 Tuckerman, Paul, Esq., 59, Wall Street, New York, U.S.A.
- 1890 Turnbull, Alexander H., Esq., Elibank, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1902 Twedy, Arthur H., Esq., Widmore Lodge, Widmore, Bromley, Kent.

- 1847 United States Congress, Library of, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1899 United States National Museum (Library of), Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1847 United States Naval Academy Library, Annapolis, Md., U.S.A.
- 1847 Upsala University Library, Upsala, Sweden (c/o Simpkin, Marshall).

- 1905 Van Norden, Theodore Langdon, Esq., 22, West 59th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1911 Van Ortoy, Professor F., Université de Gand, Belgium.
- 1913 Vasquez, Señor Don Ricardo, Guatemala, C.A.
- 1899 Vernon, Roland Venables, Esq., Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.
- 1899 Victoria, Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1847 Vienna Imperial Library (K. K. Hof-Bibliothek), Vienna.
- 1905 Vienna, K. K. Geographische Gesellschaft, Wollzeile 33, Vienna.
- 1887 Vignaud, Henry, Esq., LL.D., 2, Rue de la Mairie, Bagneux (Seine), France.
- 1912 Villa, Dr. F. Luis de, Banco Colombiano, Guatemala, C.A.
- 1909 Villiers, J. A. J. de, Esq., British Museum (*Hon. Secretary*) (2).

- 1904 Wagner, Herrn H., and E. Debes, Geographische Anstalt, Brüderstrasse 23, Leipzig.
- 1902 War Office, Mobilisation and Intelligence Library, Whitehall, S.W.
- 1847 Washington, Department of State, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1847 Washington, Library of Navy Department, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1899 Watanabe, Chihara, Esq., 4, Shimotakanawamachi, Shibaku, Tokyo, Japan.
- 1899 Watkinson Library, Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A.
- 1899 Weld, Rev. George Francis, Hingham, Mass., U.S.A. (Weldwold, Santa Barbara, California).
- 1899 Westaway, Engineer Rear-Admiral Albert Ernest Luscombe, 36, Granada Road, Southsea.
- 1913 Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, U.S.A.
- 1898 Westminster School, Dean's Yard, S.W.
- 1913 White, James, Esq., Commission of Conservation, Ottawa.

- 1893 Whiteway, Richard Stephen, Esq., Brownscombe, Shottermill, Surrey.
 1910 Wihlfahrt, E., Esq., Russo-Chinese Bank, Peking, China.
 1899 Williams, O. W., Esq., Fort Stockton, Texas, U.S.A.
 1899 Wilmanns, Frederick M., Esq., 89, Oneida Street, Milwaukee, Wisc., U.S.A.
 1913 Wimble, John Bowring, Esq., 18, Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
 1895 Wisconsin, State Historical Society of, Madison, Wisc., U.S.A.
 1913 Wood, Henry A. Wise, Esq., 1, Madison Avenue, New York.
 1900 Woodford, Charles Morris, Esq., Royal Geographical Society, Kensington
 Gore, S.W.
 1907 Woolf, Leonard Sidney, Esq., 38, Brunswick Square, W.C.
 1899 Worcester, Massachusetts, Free Library, Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.
 1913 Wright, R., Esq., The Poplars, Worsley Road, Swinton, Lancs.

- 1847 Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
 1894 Young, Alfales, Esq., Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.

- 1847 Zürich, Stadtbibliothek, Zürich, Switzerland.

